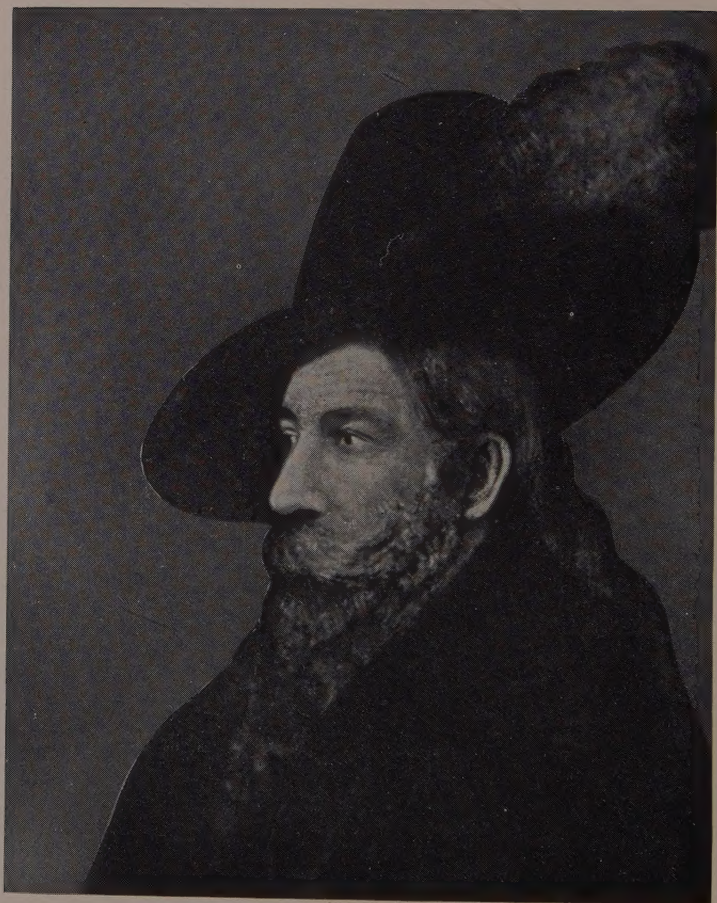


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Portrait of Juan Baptista de Anza.

From Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF NEW CALIFORNIA

BY
FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU, O.F.M.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO

EDITED BY
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VOLUME IV

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SESQUICENTENNIAL EDITION
COMMEMORATING THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO
IN 1776

THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME
WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY
SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN

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CHAPTER I

NEW MEASURES TAKEN BY HIS EXCELLENCY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS

His Excellency the Viceroy, the Knight-Commander Fray Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua,¹ anxious for the preservation and prosperity of the new settlements of Monterey, and also for the advancement of the spiritual conquests by more new foundations, saw a road opened by the Colorado River for communication between the new establishments of Monterey and the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa,² and consequently with all New Spain, without the necessity of going by sea. Although it had been thought impossible, this was accomplished by the successful land expedition of Juan Baptista de Anza, as was related in Part Two, chapter forty-five.³

His Excellency having learned of this achievement through the report made by Captain Anza of his journey, his generous heart and fervent zeal decided upon a second land expedition by way of the Colorado River, with the object of founding new settlements on the harbor

of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, two degrees farther up than that of Monterey.

For this purpose his Excellency decided in the royal council of war and exchequer that this same Captain Anza, who now had the rank of lieutenant-colonel, should recruit in the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa twenty soldiers with families, and ten from the presidios of the frontiers of Sonora, also married, so that with an officer of the rank of lieutenant they might go to occupy the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, founding on it a fort or presidio, and in its neighborhood establishing⁴ two missions. And in order the better to settle the land, he was to recruit also as many families as he could, all of them to go as settlers, with rations for five years and pay for two years, they to be clothed and transported to their destination at the expense of the king, the same as the thirty soldiers. For these expenses his Excellency with great liberality opened the royal treasury, giving Señor Anza the commission for everything, with the charge that he in person should conduct the people to Monterey, going as commander of the expedition.

Thus Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Baptista de Anza was given in Mexico the decree and superior order of his Excellency for the expedition, and he immediately took steps to provide in that capital arms, leather-jackets, and cloth-

ing for the soldiers and settlers as well as for their wives and families, turning all this over to muleteers, so that they might conduct it as far as Sinaloa. He then set out from that city with a purveyor for the expedition, and after reaching the town of Sinaloa he began to recruit the soldiers and settlers. As soon as they enlisted he clothed them from head to foot, the men as well as the women, and also their children, big and little, arming those who enlisted as soldiers. He provided everybody with mules for their transportation, and rationed them for their subsistence, allowing them, finally, the pay of soldier or settler from the very day when they took their places. In this way they went on up to the town of San Miguel de Horcasitas, in the province of Sonora, whence, all being assembled, the expedition of which I shall speak in its proper place was to start.

CHAPTER II

VOYAGE OF THE BARKS TO THE NEW ESTABLISHMENTS OF SAN DIEGO AND MONTEREY

While Señor Anza was preparing for his expedition by land, the frigate and the two packets sailed from the port of San Blas in the middle of March, 1775, all in command of graduate marine officers of the royal fleet whom his Majesty had sent from Spain for that purpose. The senior officer of the six sent by his Majesty remained in the port of San Blas with the title of commander of marine, the better to supervise the port as well as the crew and the barks. He asked his Excellency to assign to each of the barks a chaplain and a surgeon, and he complied. Not finding priests at once, he begged our College to fill the places with missionaries until he could find priests as chaplains, since it was all directed to the spiritual conquest. To this request the reverend father guardian of the College was compelled to consent for the present.

The *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, sailed in charge of Don Fernando Quiros, naval lieutenant of the royal fleet, the father preacher Fray

Ramón Ussón going as chaplain, with a cargo of provisions and goods for the presidio of San Diego and the two missions, San Diego and San Gabriel. The voyage was so fortunate that in the beginning of June the bark had already returned and was anchored in the harbor of San Blas. The other packet, the *San Carlos*, sailed at the same time as the former, under command of Don Juan Baptista de Ayala, frigate lieutenant, with the father preacher Fray Vicente Santa María as chaplain, carrying a cargo of provisions for both the presidio of Monterey and the one that was to be founded on the harbor of San Francisco, as well as the consignment of goods for that of Monterey. It entered and dropped anchor in Monterey on the 27th of June, having had no misfortune except the long delay in the voyage.

The captain carried instructions to go with the packet and examine the port of Our Father San Francisco, and in order to do this more accurately he had a small cayuco built. It was made by the carpenters of the bark, on the bank of the Carmelo River, from a large redwood tree that grew on that plain, while the crew unloaded the ship. At the same time the captain of the packet asked the commander of the presidio, Don Fernando Rivera, to send by land an escort of soldiers to the port of Our Father San Francisco for any service that might arise, so

that the examination might not be frustrated. He replied that this could not be done until the return of the party of soldiers which he had despatched to San Diego, but that as soon as they arrived he would send them to that port.

This was agreed upon, and it was decided that I should accompany them to examine the site⁶ for a mission, since the officer, Señor Ayala, was going with the intention of building, by means of the crew, a house to serve as a lodging on the arrival of the people of the land expedition who were accompanying Don Juan de Anza, while the rest employed themselves in the exploration. Everybody having agreed to this, Ayala⁵ left the port of Monterey for that of San Francisco on the 27th of July. Of this exploration I shall write later.

The frigate named *Santiago*, alias *La Nueva Galicia*, sailed from San Blas at the same time as the barks mentioned, convoyed by a schooner. These two ships were destined for a new sea expedition that was to explore the coasts, take possession of them in the name of our sovereign, and ascend to as high a latitude as possible. The frigate came in command of Don Bruno Ezeta, naval lieutenant-captain in the royal fleet. The second in command was Don Juan Pérez, frigate alférez, the chaplains being the father preachers Fray Miguel de la Campa and Fray Benito Sierra, for as the voyage was to be long

and perilous it was decided that two friars should go. The frigate carried no cargo but the provisions for these upper missions, a little corn for Monterey which the *San Carlos* had no room for, and the necessary provisions for the crew for a year. The schooner, which came in command of Don Juan de Bodega y Quadra, brought no cargo but the supplies for its own men. The reason for bringing it up was simply that it was small enough to approach and examine the coast, and that with this reconnaissance detailed information might be obtained of this unexplored coast. This purpose was accomplished, as I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

MARITIME EXPEDITION TO LATITUDE FIFTY- EIGHT DEGREES ON THE COASTS OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN*

On March 16, 1775, his Majesty's two ships, the frigate and the schooner, sailed from San Blas with the intention of exploring the coast of northern California, as I intimated in the preceding chapter. Soon after leaving port, Commander Ezeta saw how the voyage would be delayed by the sluggishness of the schooner, which traveled very slowly in comparison with the frigate.⁷ Nevertheless, thinking that it was very necessary for the exploration, he decided not to leave it behind, but to take it in tow; this he did, though with a great deal of difficulty and delay to the frigate. In the beginning they had contrary winds, and for this reason, and the currents that beat against them, they went down as far as seventeen degrees and thirty-five minutes, in which latitude, according to the observation, they found themselves on the 10th

* Palóu's account of this expedition is a summary of the diary kept by Father Campa, one of the chaplains. At times Palóu follows the diary so closely as to fall into the first person plural, although he was not with the party.

of April, but on the next day they began to gain altitude.⁸

On the 9th of June they were in latitude forty-one degrees and eighteen minutes, when, finding themselves short of water, the commander decided to approach the coast to take on water if it were obtainable. They did this, finding a good anchorage, well sheltered, and a safe port for a few ships. Before they drew near the land to drop anchor four canoes of heathen carrying twenty-four men came out to receive them. They drew near the ships and were given food and beads, with which they went away well pleased and without fear, to their village on the same beach, which could be seen from on board ship. At four in the afternoon of that day, June 9, they dropped anchor.*

On the 10th of June the barks were made fast, and, the news of their arrival having run through the neighboring villages, many heathen of both sexes and all ages came to them, all crowned with grass and flowers. Many of them went aboard and were given food and beads, for which they showed themselves very grateful, and invited us to their village. In the afternoon our men landed, and the heathen went to the beach to welcome them, though with some distrust, some of them carrying their bows and

* They anchored in Trinidad Bay, which still bears the name that Hezeta gave it.

arrows, no doubt on account of seeing us also armed. But in a short time all fear left them, and the Indian chief ordered his men to unstring their bows, which they immediately did. Our people went to the village, which was composed of some little houses made of boards.

These Indians are very poor and have a complete aversion to clothing. When the commander gave a jacket to their chief he refused to take it. They even returned some little handkerchiefs that had been given to them before, and when signs were made that they should keep them, as they were presents,⁹ they did so doubtless merely not to displease our people.

The next day,¹⁰ the 11th of the month, on which Our Mother Church was celebrating the infallible mystery of the Holy Trinity, the commander decided to take possession of that country in the name of our Catholic monarch. In order to have ready everything necessary for the purpose, as soon as it was daylight he sent Cristóbal Révilla, the second pilot, to land, accompanied by some armed men. When they reached it, without the least resistance from the heathen who were in sight, they climbed to the top of a hill which serves as a shelter to the port. There they built an arbor of branches which they adorned as neatly as possible to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass. After the frigate was informed of it the commander landed, with

the rest of the officers, the fathers, and a part of the crew of both barks. After landing they all venerated the holy cross which they had ready to set up in that place, and proceeded to erect it, singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

Formed in two files they climbed the mountain, of which the ascent is rather rough, and after reaching the top the commander took solemn possession, with all the ceremonies prescribed by his Excellency. This concluded, the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa sang the Mass, during which many of those who had landed took communion. In the Mass the father gave his talk, exhorting them to give thanks to God, and encouraging them all to continue the voyage cheerfully until the desired purpose should be attained. From the village the Indians watched all that our people did without making the least demonstration of resistance or any uproar. In commemoration of the great mystery which the Church celebrates on that day, they named that port La Santísima Trinidad.

The mountain on which the foundation was made and the holy cross fixed is very high and descends precipitously to the sea. It has communication with the mainland only on one side, and, on account of the narrowness of the communicating strip, a moat could easily be made in order to build forts on the mountain. From the

mountain the harbor which it dominates can be defended, without any possibility of the forts being attacked on any side, and with the advantage of being able to keep on the mountain cattle and mules, and to open some fields. From the summit of the mountain they made out a river with a very large bed, which empties to the east of that port, and which they had not seen from the harbor. They named the river *El Principio*, because this was the first land they had set foot on in the whole expedition.*

This ceremony concluded, they descended from the mountain, and near the beach they met four heathen. One of them, who had been in communication with our people the afternoon before, and who was apparently brighter than the rest, was told by the captain of the schooner to say "Hurrah for Carlos III!" With perfect clearness and with spirit, but not knowing what he was saying, he repeated "Hurrah for Carlos III!" And he did not show the slightest alarm at the noise of the guns with which our men responded to his hurrah, giving repeated salvos, with muskets as well as with the cannon and the swivel-guns on the barks.

But the people in the village were very much frightened by the cannon's roar, and by the echo

* The "mountain" on which Hezeta erected the cross was *Trinidad Head*, a very bold peninsula. The river mentioned (*El Principio*) is now called *Little River*. It enters the ocean two or three miles southeast of *Trinidad Head*.

which resounded in the mountains. In the afternoon they made it understood by signs that they wished our people to visit them in their village, and told them to have no fear, for it was not for the purpose of doing them any harm, since they were friends. At the same time they were charged not to take away the holy cross, and they showed that they understood it and would obey it. The Indian made a speech to his people, making gestures toward the holy cross, from which they inferred that he was charging them not to remove it.

On the twelfth they set to work to take on water and firewood. All the men went ashore armed in case anything should happen, but it was unnecessary, for the docility of the heathen was such that, far from interfering with them, they aided in these tasks. The water cost little trouble, for there are seven streams of very good water on the shore itself, all of which come down from the adjacent hills. Two of them are larger than the others. Between these two is the village, at the foot of a hill which shelters and defends them from the northwest wind, which is the most troublesome on these coasts.

The officers of both barks and the fathers dined on shore. After they had sat down to eat the heathen came to them from another village, which is situated on the bank of the river named El Principio. A considerable number, of both

sexes and all ages, gathered to visit our party. They came close to our people and one of them, a young fellow, sat down beside Father Campa. He gave them some of everything that our people were eating, and they took a taste of everything but kept the rest to carry away.

Among the dishes a plate of mussels was set down. As this was a food known to them it was not necessary to give it to them. In fact, they put their hands in the plate without ceremony and ate the mussels with as much assurance as though they were amongst their own people. The one who sat beside Father Campa, especially, had as much confidence as though he had always lived among us, eating, laughing, and now and then giving the father an embrace. As soon as they had finished eating they returned to their village.

On the 13th the frigate had drawn so close to the shore that the helm touched the land, partly because it was very low tide, that being the day of full moon. They now took it farther out and secured it.

On the 14th they continued the work of taking on water and firewood. Some of the sailors went to the village and found the heathen very sad and gloomy, in a subterranean house which they have, well covered, with a floor made of boards. In the middle of it there is a hole lined with stones in which apparently they always keep a

fire. They were seen to be going in and out, and with their lamentations they gave it to be understood that they felt pain and sorrow. They came out of the house covered with sweat, and went straight to wash themselves in the arroyo that was near, and again entering went on with their weeping.*

According to the explanation given by the heathen, one of them had died and they were burning him, and credence was given to this explanation by the fetid odor perceived in the subterranean house, which those of us who entered could not endure. They found there many heathen from the other villages near by, which are larger.

In the afternoon the officers and the fathers went to the village to present some little gifts to the heathen. Father Campa asked them if they had seen a bark there before, and they replied "No," but that they knew that they went lower down, pointing toward Monterey. The father told them that they did indeed come every year and that we lived there, and that later we would come to live with them in their land. They seemed to be very much pleased, so much so that one of them, as soon as he understood it, embraced Father Campa. Another asked by very expressive signs whether they were men like themselves. Doubtless the question arose from their having observed no inclination among

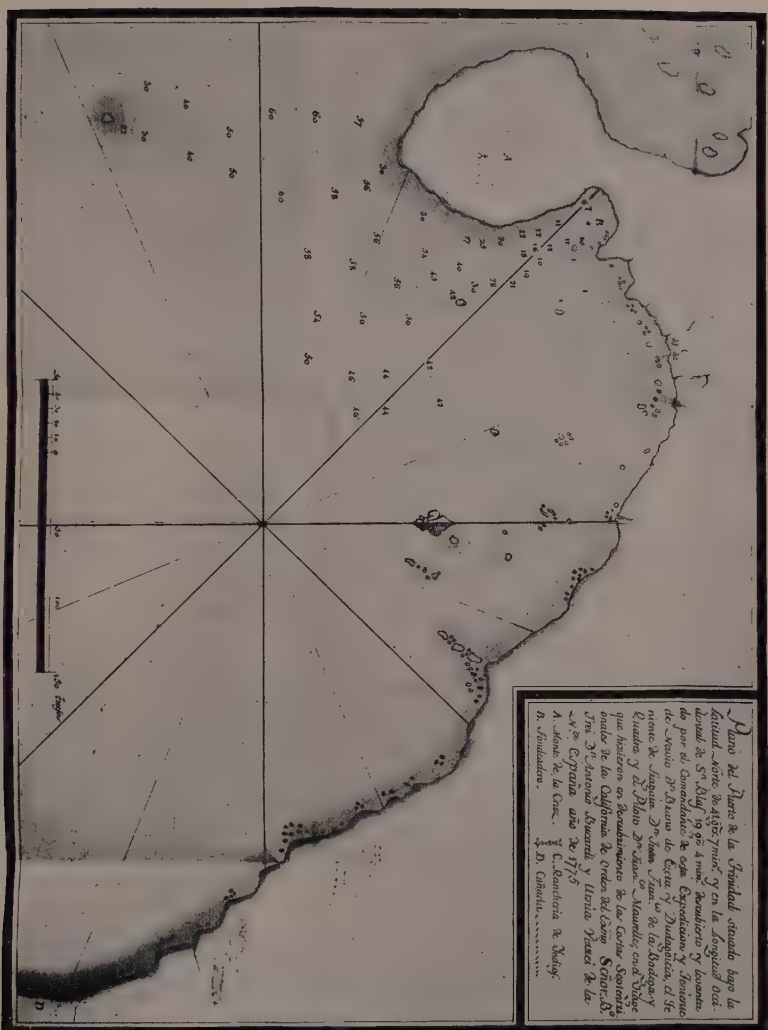
* This was evidently a temescal, or sweat-house.

our people towards or communication with their women, for all the crew conscientiously observed the strict orders given by Commander Ezeta before they went ashore. At night two sailors were missed, and it was surmised that they had deserted.

On June 15 the great festival of Corpus Christi was celebrated by everybody hearing Mass and abstaining from work, for the place did not permit any other ceremony.

On June 16 the launch went to shore to continue the task of taking on firewood and water, and on its return it brought one of the sailors who had been missed on the 14th. He was compelled to return by hunger, and in order to excuse his fault he accused the poor heathen of the village, saying they had invited him, offering him their lands if he would remain with them, and that when he consented they kept him hidden, but that he repented his act and came back. On account of this declaration, which the commander believed, he surmised that they were keeping the other deserter hidden, and so he decided to go to the village to accuse them and ask for the sailor who was missing, for which purpose he took with him¹¹ the other sailor who had returned in repentance.

He accused the heathen, but they denied the charge by signs, which they made very expressively, saying that when they saw him separating



The Hezeta Map of Trinity Bay, 1775.
 Archivo General de Indias.

from the others and going inland they called to those in the launch and told them about the ones who were staying on shore, and that they did not know anything about the other one except that they had seen him take the trail into the hills. The sailor was convicted, and as he was a deserter and perjurer the commander ordered him flogged with the gun slings, in the presence of the heathen. But their women had compassion and begged mercy for him, and the punishment was not so great as it would have been had it not been for the intervention of the prayers and tears of the heathen women.

On June 17 they continued the work of taking on water and firewood and made a topmast for the frigate, as the one they took from San Blas had been split and mended.¹²

On June 18 the commander, accompanied by the pilot of the schooner, went to explore the river which had been named El Principio, and they found its water salty for half a league, after which it was fresh. The volume of water was inconsiderable in June, but as the bed of the river is about half a league wide it leads to the belief that in the rainy season it must run very full. They saw some cottonwoods and many blackberry brambles. The Indians of the village made them a present of dried sardines, and some of them returned with them and even went aboard, where they were well treated by us and given our food and some beads.

All the time that our people remained in the harbor the heathen were very affable and friendly, and they mingled with us with such confidence that they entered the launches with our people without the least fear, and even went aboard. The soldiers went in the same way in their canoes, the largest of which are four varas long, well made, with two poops, all made of one piece except the poops, to which they have added a piece to prevent the waves from entering them. They could easily make them much larger, for they have at hand plenty of pines, some of them extremely large. We found a fallen one in the river, which, judging by the piece broken off, seemed to lack about a third part, and on measuring the part lying there we reckoned it at forty-seven varas. But as they do not need their canoes for transportation, but only for fishing for mussels and sardines, which are the only sort of fish that our people had seen up to this point, the poor creatures are content with their small canoes. What were seen in abundance were sea wolves, from which the heathen take a great deal of fat which they put in pots, keeping in it meat of the wolf cut in pieces, which they eat as though it were ham. There are also beaver, but not in such abundance.

The harbor of La Santísima Trinidad is in latitude forty-one degrees and six minutes.*

* It is near $41^{\circ} 3\frac{1}{2}'$.

There is good shelter in it for a few ships. Its bottom, for the most part, is rocky, and on this account, and our people not knowing about it, a cable was damaged after only three days at anchor. The hill which serves as shelter to the harbor is a peninsula, which communicates with the land only on the north. This hill dominates the entire harbor, and is well adapted for building a fort on it, for all that part of it facing the sea is precipitous and of bare rock. On the south side a waterfall comes down through the rocks. The climate is cold, for in June the blankets felt very good, and also the sun, just as is experienced in the rigor of winter in Mexico. The soil is moist and very fertile and the trees reach to the beach itself, on which they saw an abundance of strawberry plants.

The adjacent hills are all covered with very tall, thick pines. The plain abounds in pasture and many flowers and fragrant herbs, Castilian roses, licorice, manzanilla, yerba buena, celery, pennyroyal, wild marjoram, and other plants which the Indians eat, and they made our people presents of yellow and purple blackberries. Of birds they only saw crows, sparrows, swallows, turtledoves, and some nightingales, and other species that they did not know. Of animals, according to the skins which they saw used by the heathen, there is an abundance of deer and bear, and it appears that there must also be

buffalo, for they saw a skin and tracks of those animals.

The commander decided to leave the port on the 19th, and so in the afternoon of the 18th they went to take leave of the village, where the heathen, by means of signs that were well understood by our people, said they were sorry we were going, and that they would make demonstrations of grief for five days. At the same time they gave it to be understood that they would not remove the cross which our people were leaving on the hill, and that on their return they would find it.

CHAPTER IV

CONTINUATION OF THE ITINERARY OF THE VOYAGE

On June 19 the two barks, the frigate and the schooner, left the harbor of Santísima Trinidad with the object of pursuing their voyage to a higher latitude, which they went on gaining little by little, so that on the 13th of July they found themselves in forty-seven degrees and twenty-three minutes, where they entered a roadstead, which, in honor of his Excellency the viceroy who sent them, they named Bucareli. They dropped anchor in it at seven in the evening. The frigate anchored in eight fathoms of water, without any shelter, and the schooner about a league farther up in an inlet which it found, but which was too shallow for the frigate. For this reason the frigate did not go up to that inlet, on account of the signal which it received from the schooner.*

* Hezeta sighted land on July 11 in latitude which he reckoned as 48° 26'. Thinking himself near the Strait of Juan de Fuca, he turned south to find it. Bancroft identifies his landing place on July 13 (Rada de Bucareli) with Grenville Harbor, nearly midway down the coast of Washington. This was the first recorded landing of Europeans on the coast between California and Alaska.

July 14, Day of Our Seraphic Father San Buenaventura, broke calm, and they observed how much the sea had lowered, for the frigate found itself in five fathoms only, although it had dropped anchor in eight. Those on the schooner noticed that there were many shoals at the prow, and the breaking of the sea made it suffer greatly. At six in the morning a canoe with nine heathen approached the frigate. They invited us to come to their villages, with demonstrations of peace and unarmed, for there was seen in the canoe only a large machete, which was apparently new. Our people invited them to come on board, throwing them a cable, but they did not wish to take hold of it or come up, but, drawing near to the frigate, they traded with the sailors some beaver skins and dried fish.

At the same time Commander Ezeta, accompanied by Father Fray Benito Sierra, the second pilot, the surgeon, and some sailors, went ashore to take possession in the name of his Catholic Majesty, which he did, planting there the standard of the holy cross, without meeting the slightest opposition on the part of the heathen of that bay. It was impossible to celebrate on land the holy sacrifice of the Mass, because the weather and the place where the frigate was anchored gave no chance for delay. On the beach where they went ashore they found no more than six heathen, without weapons. They

were eating roasted fish, and they invited our people to eat with them. Our people did not go to them but called them to come, and the natives immediately complied without the least hesitation or any fear whatever. A little after seven the commander was already on board the frigate with the rest, the ceremony of taking possession and planting the standard of the holy cross on land having been concluded. At twelve o'clock they made observations and found themselves in latitude forty-seven degrees and twenty-nine minutes.

The schooner, which, as has been said, approached land a league farther up than the frigate, was evidently in peril of being lost, not so much on account of the bad anchorage as because of the duplicity and malice of the heathen there, for as soon as they saw the schooner dropping anchor so close to their land they went in their canoes to the ship, and the captain, Don Juan de Bodega y Quadra, gave them food and beads. Early in the morning of the 14th they came again to the schooner in their little canoes, apparently to show their gratitude, bringing with them their women and children, whom the captain treated well, and the heathen showed themselves to be grateful and friendly. They gave our people a lot of fish and some pieces of whale meat, offering to Father Sierra their village, which they had on the beach.

The men on the schooner were satisfied with these demonstrations and trusted in their friendship. In this confidence, presuming that these heathen had the same characteristics as those of the harbor of Santísima Trinidad, the captain decided that some of the crew should go ashore to finish taking on water and to cut a top-mast of the good timber which they saw growing almost to the very beach.

The heathen, who had plotted treason, were ambushed in the thick woods, waiting for our people to go ashore in order to kill them. This they did, for, the canoe having gone to shore with seven well armed men,* as they were nearing land, water from the surf entered the canoe, and the heathen, who were ambushed in the dense forest of pines and bushes, came out of the thicket, and without giving them a chance for their lives they took the canoe out by hand and cut five of the sailors to pieces. Only two escaped from their cruel treachery by throwing themselves into the sea. From the schooner the men witnessed the inhumanity without being able to prevent it. And although an effort was made to help them, a sailor throwing himself into the water with a barrel, it was impossible to save them.

* The party of seven men was commanded by boatswain Pedro de Santa Ana. The place where the attack occurred was called Isla de Dolores (Island of Sorrows). It is now called Destruction Island (Meany, Edmond S., *History of the State of Washington*, p. 23).

Indeed, they observed that the men threw themselves from the canoe into the sea fully clothed and shod as they were, with their swords in their hands, and it seemed to those on board that they went swimming toward the beach. But before reaching it they disappeared. From this it was thought that they must have been drowned; but in case they did reach land undoubtedly they must have been cruelly killed like the rest. The baseness of those barbarians was not satisfied by having taken their lives, but they were seized by greed as well, and in order to satisfy it they broke the canoe in pieces and carried off those that had nails, of which they are extremely fond; indeed, it is what they are most anxious to get in their trade.

These heathen are light-colored, with reddish hair, and of good stature. They use bows and arrows, and lances with flints on their long points, and when they fight they put on well-tanned buckskins, as white as those of our leather-jacket soldiers. These skins have the shape of what are called mangas in New Spain, but they are longer, so that they cover the wearers to the feet. On these skins there are painted skulls, representing the number they have killed, which they place there as trophies of their valor. The women use skirts made of tanned skins. They bore holes in the cartilage of their noses and put rings in them. The two

who went on board the schooner had rings made of copper, according to the observation of our people. The men also use skins of beaver and deer in the form of little capes to cover their shoulders with, leaving the rest of the body naked. They bore holes in their ears all the way round and wear hanging from them many small sea shells of different colors.

From the schooner they noticed that the Indians, after practicing the cruelty described, separated and went into the thick woods in bands of two or three together. Apparently they were carrying four of the poor sailors whom they had killed, and also pieces of the canoe. In a short time they saw nine canoe loads of heathen coming towards the schooner, but only one of them, in which there were nine persons, came close to it. The sailor in the lookout, who was examining the shoals which he had not seen the day before at high tide, reported that the heathen in that canoe were putting on skins and trying their bows, and that they were coming with signs of friendship and peace, and were offering food. Those on the schooner, who had observed what had happened on the launch, dissimulated, showing them beads to coax them to come within gunshot. But the heathen, noticing that the very few men on the schooner were in the stern, approached the prow to go aboard. Only four of our men faced them, but with a

swivel gun and three muskets which they fired at once they felled seven of the nine in the canoe, and so the Indians paid for the death of the seven sailors with an equal number of lives. The rest, seeing this disaster, returned to land, and none of the other canoes dared to approach.

The men on the frigate, which, as I said, was about a league distant, knew nothing of all this, but, hearing the shots from the schooner, they surmised that they were asking help on account of the shoals in the inlet where it was at anchor. Commander Ezeta immediately ordered the launch to go with a grapnel, but the schooner, which had now escaped from both perils, from the shoals as well as from the ferocity of the heathen, drew near the frigate, and its captain reported to the commander, asking his aid to return for honor's sake to avenge the injury.

As soon as the commander learned what had happened he called a council of officers, and it was decided that it was not wise to go ashore in an unknown country against more than two hundred Indians, who had the shelter of a very dense forest which reached down to the beach itself. For this would be to expose the lives of all of them, without hope of finding any one to fight with. Moreover, they would be exposed to the danger of losing the launch and finding it impossible to continue the voyage. Besides this,

the sea was coming in and the frigate was insecure because it had poor anchorage and was without the least shelter. And so it was decided to leave the roadstead and continue the voyage, giving seven sailors to the schooner in place of those who had been lost, as well as a cannon for better defense, with powder and the other things that might be needed, as was done.

In consequence of this decision the two ships set out in convoy, sailing together up to the thirtieth of the month of July, when the schooner disappeared. It did not again join the frigate until the seventh of October, when it entered the port of Monterey, where it found the frigate anchored. Of the voyage which it made alone I shall speak in its place.*

On the 31st of July, when the frigate found itself alone, without the company of the schooner, in latitude forty-six degrees and forty-two minutes, with winds contrary for the ascent, and many sick, the commander called a council of officers and asked their opinions in order to decide the question. Don Juan Pérez, second captain and first pilot, and Don Cristóbal Revilla, the second pilot, replied that they held to what they had told him on the nineteenth of the same month; that is, that because the winds were diametrically opposed to reaching a higher

* The vessels kept together until July 30, when they separated. The story of the schooner is resumed by Palóu in Chapter VII.

latitude and the season very advanced, many being sick and the healthy lacking strength, it was best to return to Monterey. The sea officers replied that they approved all that had been stated on the twenty-fourth of the same month, which was in substance the same as the pilots said.

Notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the members of the council, Commander Ezeta insisted on making an effort to ascend, until August 11, when, according to the observation which they then made, they found themselves in latitude forty-nine degrees. On this day the pilots made a new representation, putting before the commander the unhappy state of the crew, for they were scarcely able to assemble three men on each watch, and it took both watches to reef the main-topsail. Even then they took a long time to do it, and the same to reef the fore-topsail. All together they were not able to lay hold of the point of the foresail nor to brace the mainsail. If they should be caught in a storm they would be in imminent danger of perishing, and, therefore, some decision was imperative. In view of this the commander decided to descend to Monterey, but in sight of land, in order to explore the coast. They did this, having the good fortune to enjoy clear days for examining and surveying the entire coast and observing the latitudes, from which resulted the

possibility of forming a perfect and accurate chart from the port of Monterey to fifty degrees.*

On the 13th of August, when in latitude forty-nine degrees and five minutes, and about five leagues distant from the coast, they were approached by four canoes, each holding two heathen, who invited our people to their country and village; but the commander excused himself on account of the large number of sick. One of the canoes succeeded in trading a suit of grass clothing for a sabre.

On the 14th, when in latitude forty-eight degrees and thirty-two minutes, the sergeant died.

On the 15th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when they were in forty-eight degrees and three minutes, a canoe of heathen approached them and invited them to their country and their village. Some of the sailors assured the commander that they were the traitors of the Roadstead of Bucareli, who had killed those in the schooner's launch, and affirmed that they had seen them when going up. The commander believed what the sailors said and set his course to secure the canoe, seize two of the heathen, and, holding them on board, send off the rest with the threat that if they did not bring back the sailors who had gone to land from the launch

* On August 10th, before deciding to return to Monterey, Hezeta sighted land in latitude $49^{\circ} 30'$, in the region of San Lorenzo, or Nootka Sound. Other points on the coast farther south were seen on the 12th.

he would order put to death the two that he held. He intended to do this on the chance that the two who leaped into the water might still be alive.

To accomplish his purpose he spoke kindly to them and invited them to come aboard. They came close and brought the canoe alongside. He ordered the grappling iron of the launch, which weighed about twelve arrobas, thrown into it, to secure the canoe. The iron fell on the shoulder of one of the heathen, and just missed killing him. It made him stoop, but, judging by the way he acted, it hurt him very little, for he himself caught hold of the iron and threw it into the water, and they went off in all haste to land, going to the windward of the frigate.

They continued their voyage to Monterey, making a lower latitude every day, so that on the seventeenth they found themselves in latitude forty-six degrees and eleven minutes. At five in the afternoon they discovered a large bay which they called La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, and they gave names to the two capes which form the entrance. The one on the north they called Cape San Roque, and the one on the south Cape Frondoso, on account of the thick growth of trees with which it is covered.* While

* The "bay or river" called La Asunción de Nuestra Señora was the mouth of the Columbia River, which was thus discovered on August 17, 1775, seventeen years before the American, Gray, entered it in the ship *Columbia*. The capes which guard the entrance (San Roque and Frondoso) are now called Cape Disappointment and Cape Adams.

between the two capes, which are about one and a half leagues apart, they observed that the sea penetrates far into the land, making a horizon to the east. For this reason they thought it must be a river, but for lack of experience they could not¹³ enter and examine it.

On the 18th they observed the latitude to be forty-five degrees and forty-one minutes. The coast that was visible at dawn was a high mountain range, which they called Santa Clara de Monte Falco. At eight in the evening they endeavored to draw near the coast, but no matter how hard they worked, the helm refused to obey. This circumstance caused them all much surprise, for it had not happened before during the entire voyage. This went on for about an hour, although it afterwards obeyed and the ship ran south until midnight.

On the 19th morning dawned clear, and they found themselves about four¹⁴ leagues from the coast. At seven in the morning they made an effort to approach it, but it was impossible because the helm disobeyed the same as the day before, this lasting about two hours, when it allowed itself to be directed. These two occurrences seemed to many not to lack mystery, for in the whole voyage it had not been experienced before, even when they were in places with stronger currents. Some thought that it must be a high providence of God, who wished to

deliver them from some shoals, for the peril of navigating the sea on an unknown coast is evident. At twelve o'clock they made observations and found themselves in latitude forty-four degrees and ten minutes, and in the afternoon, turning the prow to the south, they sailed in sight of land.

On the 20th morning came when they were three leagues from the coast, and they perceived that the land was very high. They approached within about a gunshot of the shore and found a row of farallones, and not finding anything special in this direction, they tacked ship and turned the prow to the south. They made observations at midday and found themselves to be in forty-two degrees and thirty-four minutes. After twelve the wind suddenly calmed, a heavy sea come on them from the west, and they feared a sudden change, as it was a side wind. They tacked ship to the outside, and a light southwest wind blew; the fog came down and concealed the coast from them.

All the coast, from the latitude of fifty degrees which they reached, to forty-one and a half, they examined inch by inch, only failing to see about a half a degree. With this examination what has never been done up to the present has been accomplished, and the information given by maps and charts has been proved to be false.

On the 21st, 22d, and 23d it was calm but without sun, so that they could not make observations.

On the 24th the calm weather continued; but when they could make observations they found themselves to be in forty-one degrees and twenty-seven minutes. In the afternoon they made some progress toward the south.

On the 25th they found themselves in latitude forty degrees and thirty-eight minutes. At four in the afternoon, when the fog lifted, they saw Cape Mendocino, and immediately turned the prow toward it until eight at night; and they kept a sharp lookout, passing the night in this way.

On the 26th, at four o'clock in the morning, they began to work the ship toward the shore, which they could not see on account of the fog. About nine it cleared and they saw the coast, which they say consists of high mountains. At twelve they were in thirty-nine degrees and fifty minutes. During the whole afternoon and night they sailed with the wind at the stern, close to the coast.

The 27th of the month dawned clear, and with a favorable wind they sailed to the south-southeast.¹⁵ At twelve o'clock they were in thirty-seven degrees and fifty-six minutes. At nightfall they were headed east, toward the land, which they saw lighted by the fires of the

Indians. They spent the night making soundings, with the object¹⁶ of fulfilling the charge which the commander brought from his Excellency to examine the harbor of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco.

On the 28th, from two o'clock in the morning the coast was hidden from them by a thick fog, so that at dawn they could not see it, although they were close to it. About eight in the morning they observed a great breaking of the sea on the prow, without being able to see the land on account of the fog, for which reason they veered to the outside. At nine o'clock it cleared somewhat, but they could not see the coast, as it was concealed by fog, but they did see the farallones which are in front of the mouth of the harbor of San Francisco. At twelve they observed the latitude to be thirty-seven degrees and forty-six minutes, but because of the fog they were not able to enter that port.

On the 29th morning dawned very dark and they sailed the entire forenoon in a fog. At twelve it cleared somewhat and they could make observations, and they found themselves to be in thirty-six degrees and forty-six minutes. At one o'clock they made out Point Pinos and at four in the afternoon they dropped anchor in the harbor of Monterey.

Next day¹⁷ the unloading of the provisions for the missions and some supplies belonging to the

royal warehouse began. This concluded, the commander, Don Bruno, decided to go by land to the harbor of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, with the object of exploring it. For this purpose he thought of carrying on the back of a mule a small, light canoe which he had bought from the Indians of the coast, with the intention of using it in sounding the mouth of the port. He made known his idea and plan to Don Fernando Rivera, commander on land, who replied that at present he could not give him an escort, on account of what had happened at the mission of San Antonio. In fact, because of the occurrence at that mission he had not been able to detach the division which he had offered to the captain of the packet *San Carlos*; but he said that as soon as he should finish the business in which he was engaged at the mission of San Antonio he would send the escort and Don Bruno could go with it.

CHAPTER V

THE INCIDENT AT THE MISSION OF SAN ANTONIO

On August 29, the same day when the frigate dropped anchor, couriers came from the mission of San Antonio with the report that some of the heathen had fallen upon the mission, and inside the very houses had wounded with arrows a catechumen who was about to be baptized, as well as some cows belonging to the mission. As soon as the news arrived the commander despatched a corporal with a party. When they reached the mission they found the report to be true, but that the Indian, who had been hit by many arrows, some of them inflicting serious wounds, was now out of danger. The fathers, as well as the others at the mission, attributed his recovery to a miracle of San Antonio de Pádua, patron of the mission, to whom the wounded one called; for he was baptized in *articulo mortis*, and yet he recovered completely.¹⁸

They also found that some of the cattle had been driven off by the two bold heathen who had fallen upon the mission by day, running away as soon as they had done the deed. The corporal

learned the direction which they had taken and followed them until he overtook them in a large village. He took them prisoners to the mission, where he ordered them flogged and secured until the commander might decide what should be done with them. By his order, after keeping them in the stocks some days, they were released, having been flogged a second time. The corporal of the squad, seeing that the mission was quiet and not in danger, returned to Monterey, where he arrived on the 12th of September. On the same day the commander of the frigate again spoke to Don Fernando about his journey by land, and the departure was set for the 14th.

CHAPTER VI

EXPEDITION BY LAND TO THE PORT OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

It has already been said in the second chapter that the reverend father president decided that I should accompany the party of soldiers who were to go to the harbor of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, to find and examine the best site for the mission, and when the departure of the commander took place he decided that I should accompany him, together with the reverend father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa Cos, chaplain of the frigate, who also decided to go with the exploring party.¹⁹

The sea commander, Don Bruno Ezeta, set out from Monterey with three sailors and a carpenter, taking on a mule the little canoe already spoken of, and we two friars went with him, escorted by nine soldiers. We followed the same road that we took in the expedition of the previous year, and had not the smallest mishap on the way.

We arrived on the 22d of the same month* at the beach of the Gulf of the Farallones, on whose sands we found the cayuco which was

* September, 1775.

built on Carmelo River, full of water and sand, and not far off the oars. We followed the beach as far as the high hill at the mouth of the harbor, which we ascended, and at the foot of the cross I found two letters written by Father Fray Vicente Santa María.

In the first letter he informed me of their safe arrival at the harbor, and the ease with which they had entered at night and dropped anchor. In the second he told me that the expedition had landed,* and that the exploration was now concluded satisfactorily, and in a short time they would return to Monterey; that in case of our arrival we should travel about a league within the harbor, and light a fire on the beach, and from the island which they called Nuestra Señora de los Angeles,† off the shore of which they were anchored, they would see us.²⁰ We did this, but, not seeing bark or signal, we returned to the camp which we had left on the bank of a large lake which empties into the Gulf of the Farallones, and which we named Nuestra Señora de la Merced.‡

* This was the expedition of Ayala, narrated below. His preparation is briefly described in Chapter II. Ayala, in the *San Carlos*, now made the first voyage through the Golden Gate. He was instructed to test the qualities of the new-found bay, and ascertain whether it communicated with Old San Francisco Bay (Drake's Bay). Ayala was accompanied by pilots Cañizares and Aguirre and Father Santa María. It was this expedition which proved conclusively that Drake's Bay and San Francisco Bay were quite distinct, and that the latter was really a great harbor.

† Now called Angel Island. ‡ Still so-called.

On the 23d we returned to the harbor, but still we got no glimpse of the bark or any signs of it; so we concluded that it had gone, for which reason we went back to the camp. In the afternoon of the 24th we returned to Monterey by the same road, not having suffered either in going or coming the least annoyance from the heathen, whom we found very peaceable and friendly, presenting to us their rude gifts of mussels and seeds, which were reciprocated with beads and some of our food.

We arrived at Monterey on the 1st of October, where we found the packet *San Carlos* anchored near the frigate, and whose captain, with two pilots, gave us a detailed account of their voyage and explorations. That is, on the day they left Monterey they began the novena to our Seraphic Father San Francisco, and on the ninth day, at its conclusion, they arrived at the desired port.²¹ The first to go in was the launch. The captain observed that it was a long time coming out to give a report,²² and because night was approaching he went into the mouth, entering after dark, and dropping anchor without the least accident. On the following day the launch rejoined the bark, and they moved to the island opposite the mouth, which they called Nuestra Señora de los Angeles. They found good anchorage there, and, going on land, an abundance of water and firewood.

The commander made arrangements for the exploration, and the first pilot, Don José Cañizares, set out in the launch and went up to examine the arm of the sea that runs to the north. He carried out this exploration satisfactorily, of the estuary as well as of the round bay, ascending till he found fresh water and saw the rivers.* In this voyage he communicated with several villages of heathen, all of whom showed themselves to be peaceable and friendly, presenting our people with a large amount of fish, which they brought to the bark.

As soon as they came back the captain ordered the launch to go out again with the second pilot, Don Juan Baptista Aguirre, to examine the arm of the sea which runs to the southeast. In this exploration he found several inlets of good depth, but he saw no more than three Indians, who made no demonstration but to weep, for which reason they called the place where they were the bay Los Llorones.†

These gentlemen said that this harbor is one of the best in all New Spain, and that it is not one harbor only, but many, with a single entrance. They remained at anchor in it more than forty days, in which time they had an opportunity to explore it. They would have had time enough to build a good house on the land,

* That is, he went to the head of Suisun Bay.

† Into this bay flowed Arroyo de los Dolores, where Mission San Francisco was later founded by Father Palóu.

but this was frustrated by our not going at the time agreed upon, for the day that we arrived by land at that harbor the packet *San Carlos* dropped anchor in that of Monterey on its return voyage.

During the forty days that they were anchored in the harbor of San Francisco the heathen visited them, coming alongside in their tule rafts with their gifts of fish, to which our people responded with beads and biscuits. Father Santa María went several times with the officers to land on the north shore which communicates with Point Reyes, and they visited a heathen village whose people were delighted to see them, and gave signs of friendship and docility. In regard to the cayuco, they said they had decided not to leave it, since the land expedition had not appeared. But the day before they left the harbor it broke loose from the tow-rope and no doubt it went out through the mouth of the harbor and the waves carried it to the beach where we found it, as has already been said.

CHAPTER VII

EXPEDITION MADE BY THE SCHOONER TO FIFTY-EIGHT DEGREES, ACCORDING TO THE RELATION MADE BY THE CAPTAIN, THE PILOT AND THE CREW²³

It has already been said in another chapter that the schooner, after the disaster in the month of July, the seven men who had perished having been replaced and powder and a cannon having been put on board, became separated from the frigate. Up to the present it has not been learned whether the separation was voluntary or not. Seeing itself alone, it continued its voyage, gaining latitude until it reached fifty-eight degrees, where they found a good harbor which they called Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.* Going ashore, they took possession of the country in the name of his Catholic Majesty, planting on land the standard of our redemption, the holy cross, without the least opposition from the heathen natives of that harbor, and without other demonstration than surprise at seeing our

* "The place of this first landing of Spanish explorers upon Alaskan soil was called anchorage "de los Remedios" and can be nothing else than the entrance to Klokachef Sound between Kruzof and Chichagof islands" (Bancroft, H. H., *History of Alaska*, p. 200).

people.²⁴ They use as arms lances with flints on the end of their long shafts. This function concluded, they took on the water and firewood and left that harbor with the intention of ascending to a higher latitude.

On leaving the harbor they saw that the heathen went to the place where the holy cross stood, and, taking it from the place, carried it to their village, which was on the same beach, where they set it up near their village, making signs that they would keep it and guard it. They saw also that on each side of the holy cross, which was now raised in their village, a heathen stood with arms extended in the form of a cross. This performance they did not understand, and so they sailed out of the harbor of Los Remedios.

The intention of the captain, aided by the zeal of the pilot, was to ascend to a latitude of sixty-five degrees. But as soon as they left this new harbor they met with totally contrary winds, so that they descended as far as fifty-five degrees, a little above Point Santa Margarita, the last point of the expedition made by Don Juan Pérez in the year 1774. Finding themselves in that latitude and with contrary winds, they drew near the land, in which they found a strait between two points, about two leagues distant from each other, and in the middle of the mouth they saw an island which they called San Carlos. They saw that the sea runs far inland,

so that it presented a horizon to them. It was not possible to enter to explore it because the greater part of the crew were now sick with scurvy. But they made an attempt to approach one of the two points and succeeded in going ashore and planting on it the standard of the holy cross, taking possession in the name of our king, without meeting with the slightest opposition from the heathen natives of that country.

They noticed that those heathen had better and whiter faces than any that they had seen on the voyage, either on land or in the different canoes which approached them in several places. It was the opinion of the officers and sailors that if there is a passage on these coasts to the North Sea, in no place is it more likely to be than here. They named this entrance the Strait of Bucareli, in honor of his Excellency the Viceroy, who sent them on this expedition.*

Notwithstanding that they had accomplished what has been related, they made efforts to ascend again with the object of exploring to a higher latitude than that which they had seen, but it was impossible on account of the contrary winds and the heavy seas which they were now experiencing, for the bark, because of its small size, would not be able to endure the heavier seas that they would doubtless meet in a higher latitude. On this account, and because the sick

* It is now called Bucareli Sound.

were growing worse, the captain decided to return to Monterey to look for the frigate, but always hugging the coast in order to examine it. They did so, and succeeded to their entire satisfaction, so that, as they said, not a bit of the coast was left unexplored, from which it turns out that the coast does not run as the maps, old and modern, draw it, and the whole coast is without shoals, and anchorage may be had in many places.

On October 3, Feast of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, they were near Point Reyes, some four leagues to the north of it, where they found²⁵ a harbor which they thought must be that of San Francisco, in which the old writers say the ship *San Agustín* was lost. They entered and dropped anchor in it. It seemed to them to be a good harbor, and they noticed that although there is a bar at the entrance there is sufficient depth for any bark to enter. They observed that the sea penetrated far inland, so that they could not make out the end of it. They say it looked to them as though a large river emptied into it.* They suspected that it might have communication with the harbor of our Father San

* The harbor where they anchored was Bodega Bay, named for Bodega y Quadra, who commanded the little schooner *Sonora* when this exploration was made. The body of water to the southeast which looked like a river was Tomales Bay, which heads far inland. Ayala's exploration, just completed, and another which he made the following year, set aside the conjecture that Tomales Bay communicated with San Francisco Bay.

Francisco, in which the *San Carlos* was anchored and which was explored in the previous August. In order not to confuse the two harbors they named the one entered by the schooner on the 3d of October, the Port of Captain Bodega, but they could not explore it satisfactorily for the reason which I am about to relate.

As soon as the schooner dropped anchor, more than two hundred Indians of both sexes, small and large, hastened to the beach, giving lively manifestations of pleasure. A tule raft approached the schooner with two heathen who gave our people some of their pinole made of seeds, and a little cape made of tule fiber which they use in place of clothing. Our people accepted these poor things in appreciation of the good will with which they were offered, and the captain responded with beads and other little gifts, with which they went back to shore happy, and the whole night they were on the beach with their fires, apparently entertaining our people, spending the entire night singing and dancing.

On the Feast of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, October 4, they saw themselves in evident peril of being lost with the schooner and all perishing in that port. For while they were anchored in it a heavy sea came up, with such strong beating of the waves that a great deal of water came in on them. One of the waves carried away the small canoe and dashed it to pieces,

making it impossible for them to make any more explorations. They feared the same thing might happen to the schooner. With such a disaster all would have perished, but it was God's will that they should be saved from that fate, this being the fifth time that they had been in evident peril of drowning during the voyage. In view of what had happened, as soon as the heavy sea gave them an opportunity they left the harbor, the same day. They continued to descend, always keeping close to the shore, until they reached Monterey, where they dropped anchor at four in the afternoon on the 7th of October. Their arrival caused great rejoicing among all, for it had been feared that they were lost.

Our joy was increased when we heard them relate all that is noted in this chapter, without having had any further misfortune than the loss of the seven men from the frigate, of which we already knew, and even though most of the crew came ill with the scurvy not one had died. For this special mercy they wished to render thanks, fulfilling the promises that they made in their first peril, that if they should return safely to Monterey a solemn Mass would be sung to Nuestra Señora de Belén, who is venerated in the church of San Carlos on Río Carmelo, her image being the gift of his Excellency Señor Don Francisco Lorenzana, at that time archbishop of Mexico and at present of Toledo. He gave it to

the illustrious visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, and the latter destined it for the first maritime expedition, so that it might go with the title of Conquistadora. The expedition concluded, he again shipped it so that it might be placed in the church of that mission, as was done.

A week after the arrival of the schooner at Monterey, all the people in it went to the mission on Carmelo River to fulfill the promise, and a solemn Mass was sung by the ministers in which all those of the expedition, from the captains and pilot to the last cabin boy, took communion, to the edification of all, who gave thanks to the Lord and His Most Holy Mother, begging her to intercede with her Holy Son for the conversion of all the heathen who populate these coasts.

CHAPTER VIII

VOYAGE OF THE BARKS TO SAN BLAS AND WHAT HAPPENED ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT THAT PORT

As soon as the schooner reached Monterey, the commanders and captains decided to return to San Blas, but as the schooner had suffered much the commander decided to careen it, for which reason the frigate waited to convoy it. But the *San Carlos*, which had concluded its exploration and had no reason to delay, sailed from Monterey²⁸ on the eleventh of the same month, and the frigate sailed with the schooner in the latter part of October.

A few days previous to the departure the second captain and first pilot, Don Juan Pérez, fell ill, and as the surgeons thought it would be better for his health to go to San Blas they did not leave him, but his illness became worse and he died the second day after he left the port, in sight of Mission Carmelo. His death was felt very much by every one, and as soon as the news was received, which was on the coming of the bark in the following year,* they honored him in

* This is a most forceful illustration of the infrequency and difficulty of communication between California and Mexico at that period.

the mission of San Carlos with a High Mass and several Low Masses, because the deceased was the one who had discovered by sea the harbors of San Diego and Monterey, and the one who had conducted the provisions of these new establishments since their founding.

As soon as the barks arrived at San Blas the captains gave an account of their voyage to his Excellency. In view of the hardship that those who had gone on the expedition to the north had suffered, the viceroy decided that they should rest the following year and not go on any voyage. He made the same arrangement with the frigate, and ordered that the two packets, the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio*, alias *El Principe*, should be got ready for the next year, the latter to transport provisions to San Diego and the former to Monterey and the port of San Francisco.

The missionary fathers who had filled the places of chaplains on those barks asked the reverend father guardian for their retirement, not so much to rest as to be relieved of a charge so foreign to the apostolic institute. With this object they wrote to the prelate from Tepic, before they had finished the voyage. In consequence of this, as soon as Father Fray Ramon Ussón, who had gone out as chaplain on the *Principe* on the voyage which, as has already been said, it made to San Diego, arrived at San Blas, not finding a letter from the reverend

father guardian ordering him to delay, he set out for Mexico. The father guardian, fearing that the others would do the same, spoke to his Excellency and begged him to name other chaplains, because the four who had gone on the voyage had written to him begging for retirement, on the ground that this duty did not pertain to the institute.

His Excellency considered the matter, but he repeated the request that in the meantime, until he found priests to send, the missionaries should supply their places, since these voyages were directed to the conversion of the heathen and the spiritual welfare of souls. The point was discussed in the Discretory, and it was decided to please his Excellency, and that since only two barks were to come down, permission should be given for the retirement of Father Fray Miguel de la Campa, in consideration of his advanced age. It was decided also that a letter should be written to Father Fray Benito Sierra, telling him to go for the present in the packet bound for Monterey, adding that if any one of the ministers of the missions should retire to the College he might remain in his place as missionary, which is what he desired and what had moved him to come on the first voyage, but he had been deprived of an opportunity because none of the missionaries had lost heart or become ill.

As soon as the friars received the letter from the reverend father guardian which told them what had been decided by the venerable Discretory, they made the following arrangement: Father Campa took advantage of his permission and retired to the College; Father Fray Benito sacrificed himself to make the voyage to San Diego, and Father Santa María wrote again to the reverend father guardian begging him to take pity upon him, saying that he had not the courage to go alone on so long and perilous a voyage, for if they appointed a chaplain for the sailors, why was he alone denied this comfort? The reverend father guardian, having read the letter, again spoke to his Excellency, relating to him its contents, and he replied that the father was right, and therefore he must send him a companion. So he named the father preacher Fray José Necedal, a Mexican and son of the College. Provisioned at the expense of the king, he traveled to Tepic to be companion to Father Santa María, who, with this comfort and the hope of remaining at the missions, sacrificed himself gladly.

CHAPTER IX

DECISION TO FOUND A NEW MISSION BETWEEN SAN DIEGO AND SAN GABRIEL²⁷

In view of the small number of troops for two presidios and five missions, the provisional regulation approved in the royal council of war and exchequer provided that the new foundations should be postponed, unless it should be considered possible to found one or two missions by decreasing the guards of the missions nearest the presidios, together with some presidials²⁸ who would not be noticeably missed. Taking advantage of the door opened by this same regulation, the reverend father president, seeing that he had plenty of supernumerary missionaries awaiting the new foundations, asked the commander several times to found some mission by using the means suggested in the regulation, but it was not to be obtained from Commander Don Fernando Rivera.

Seeing this, the reverend father president, so that the postponement of the foundings might never be attributed to him, and in con-

sideration of the number of supernumeraries, reported to the reverend father guardian, and also to his Excellency, asking him to send twenty more soldiers, in order to proceed with the new foundings, and employ the large number of friars who were detained in this expectation. For only by the coming of more soldiers could he proceed with the new foundations, since the commander had replied that he could not give any soldiers because he had none to spare.

As soon as the reverend father guardian of the College received the father president's letter he went to see his Excellency, and begged him to consent that all the supernumeraries in these establishments should retire to the College. To this proposal his Excellency replied that for the present two missions were to be founded in the neighborhood of the harbor, and that if four missionaries remained the rest might retire. Thereupon he decided to write to the reverend father president, but the day after this decision was made his Excellency sent for the reverend father guardian and told him that he must not now give the permission for the supernumeraries to retire to the College, for they would all be needed. No doubt this change originated in some order that had come from the Court and had arrived that day in the packages of maritime mail. The reverend father guardian wrote this information to the reverend father president.

At the same time his Excellency wrote several letters to the reverend father president. In one of them he tells him that as soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Baptista de Anza should reach Monterey with the thirty families of soldiers and settlers whom he was to recruit in the provinces of Sinaloa, two missions and a fort would be founded in the vicinity of the harbor of San Francisco. He adds that he had already written to Captain Rivera to do everything possible, in conjunction with his Reverence, for the founding of one or two more missions in the places that might be judged most suitable, assigning some of the soldiers from the presidios, in the meantime adding to them some from the nearest missions, until a better agreement could be reached in regard to the twenty soldiers for whom he had been asked. His Excellency concludes by saying: "I do not doubt that Captain Rivera will agree to this and that one or two missions will be founded."

On the 10th of August of the same year, 1775, these letters reached Monterey, and in the afternoon of the same day the captain commander went to Carmelo to speak with the reverend father president in regard to the matter, as his Excellency ordered. On the 12th of that month, after having had several conferences on the subject, they came to an agreement that a mission should be founded between San Diego and San

Gabriel, in the place named San Juan Capistrano,* or in any place in that neighborhood where greater advantages might be found. For the guard six soldiers were assigned to it, four from the presidios, one from the mission of San Diego, and the other from that of San Carlos, and it was decided that in the beginning of the establishments he would endeavor to have the guard increased for any contingency that might arise. It was decided that as soon as possible work should be begun on this foundation, in order that it might be accomplished before the arrival of the expedition of Señor Anza.

In consequence of this decision the reverend father president named as ministers of the new mission the father preachers Fray Fermín Francisco Lazúen, who was at that time in Monterey to say Mass and minister to the soldiers of the presidio, and Fray Gregorio Amurrio, who was at the mission of San Luís, as supernumerary minister, both being from the province of Cantabria. They made preparations for the journey, and before the end of the month of August they set out for their destination. They arrived at San Gabriel, and while Father Amurrio remained at that mission to get some little things ready, Father Lazúen²⁹ went on to San Diego to meet the lieutenant, so that the two might go together to examine the sites, as they shortly did.

* The site of San Luís Rey was first called San Juan Capistrano. See Volume II, 118.

They found a good place not far from the Camino Real, some twenty leagues, or a little less, from San Gabriel, and somewhat more from San Diego.

The examination made, they returned to San Diego to provide everything necessary for the founding, to effect which they set out, having informed Father Amurrio what day he was to go with the cattle and loads. They took possession of the site and made a beginning of the new mission on the 30th of October the last day of the Octave of San Juan Capistrano, patron of that mission, with manifestations of pleasure from the heathen natives of that place who were present at its founding.³⁰ For a week after their arrival they worked very happily in building a chapel and some sort of dwelling, in which work the heathen also helped. They hoped that it would soon go on faster with the aid of some men who arrived on the eighth day from San Gabriel with Father Fray Gregorio, who conducted the loads and cattle for the new mission. But on that very day they were compelled to suspend the founding and even to abandon the site, because a courier arrived from San Diego bringing a letter from the corporal who had been left in command, in which he told the lieutenant that the Indians of that mission had rebelled, and, uniting with many heathen villages, had fallen upon the mission and burned it, killing

one of the missionary fathers and wounding all the soldiers.

Promptly when the lieutenant received this lamentable news he mounted his horse and started for San Diego with a few soldiers, begging the fathers to follow after him with all the men and loads, postponing the founding. They did this, leaving on the site only the small amount of building that they had done. The two bells they left buried, and with all the rest they set out for the presidio of San Diego. As soon as the lieutenant arrived at the presidio of San Diego he began to take depositions, and to arrest and punish many of the Indians, Christians as well as heathen, despatching some parties of soldiers to arrest the aggressors and explore the country. After some days had passed, seeing that the country was quiet, he sent a courier to Monterey to give an account to the commander of all that had occurred, with a report of the steps that he had taken. The fathers did the same, giving to the father president a detailed account of everything that had happened, as I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X

STORY OF THE CRUEL MARTYRDOM OF THE VENERABLE FATHER FRAY LUÍS JAYME, AND THE SAD TRAGEDY AT THE MISSION OF SAN DIEGO⁸¹

In the month of November, in the year 1775, the reverend father Fray Luís Jayme, lecturer in philosophy from the province of Mallorca, and the father preacher Fray Vicente Fuster from that of Aragón, were serving as ministers at the mission of San Diego. They were both very happy, seeing that they were gathering in abundance the spiritual fruit of that vineyard of the Lord, for on the 3d of October in the same year, the feast of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, they had baptized sixty heathen. These, together with the large number whom they had previously baptized, formed a good-sized pueblo, founded in the valley of the village itself, three leagues distant from the presidio, to which site, about two years before, the mission had been moved. This removal was made for the purpose of obtaining crops of corn and wheat for the maintenance of the new establishments and the reduction of the heathen, which they

could not raise on the site on which it was previously founded close to the presidio.

The Enemy, envious and resentful, no doubt because the heathen in that territory were being taken away from him, and because the missionaries, with their fervent zeal and apostolic labors, were steadily lessening his following, and little by little banishing heathenism from the neighborhood of the port of San Diego, found a means to put a stop to these spiritual conquests. Because of his malevolence, doubtless, and in order to avenge himself upon those who had snatched so many souls from his infernal claws, God in his inscrutable wisdom having given him permission, he influenced a few of the new Christians not yet confirmed in the Faith to rebel, destroy the mission, and take the lives of the missionary fathers and soldiers who were guarding and defending them.

Shortly after the feast of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, during whose festival, as I said, sixty were converted, two Christians who had been a long time baptized ran away from the mission and became apostates, the fathers being ignorant of the cause and motive. Some days after they were missed the sergeant of the presidio went out with a party of soldiers to look for them, but could not find them, and only succeeded in learning that they had gone far into the mountains between San Diego and the Colo-

rado River. But they could not find out anything in regard to their purpose, for which reason at that time they failed to have the least suspicion of what the two apostates were doing. This was to go from village to village among the heathen and invite them to make an end of the mission and presidio, holding secret councils, and giving as a reason for killing the soldiers that they defended the fathers, and for killing the latter that they wished to make an end of heathenism by making them all Christians. One of the malefactors so declared to the commander, Don Fernando Rivera, from whose lips I heard it, and it so appears in the proceedings in the case. Some of the villages did not wish to take part in the plot, but most of them agreed, the pact being that they were to strike the blow at night, at the presidio and mission at the same time.

In this understanding, and well armed with arrows and macanas, about one o'clock on the night of the 4th of November, 1775, about eight hundred Indians, divided into two bands, fell upon them. One stayed at the mission and the other went on to the presidio. The agreement had been made that the attack should take place at the same time in both places; that they were not to set fire to the mission until they judged that the others had arrived at the presidio; and that as soon as the latter saw the light at the mission they were to set fire to the presidio. The

people in the presidio, like those at the mission, were so unsuspecting of these diabolical intentions that all were asleep, fathers as well as soldiers. And what is more, the sentinels were sleeping in the same way, as is inferred from what is said in all the letters which came from San Diego, from which I took these notes.

About one in the night the division of the mob of Indians that was about to fall upon the poor mission, arrived there. Part of them stationed themselves at the doors of the little houses of the Christians who were in the town, to restrain them and prevent them from calling out or taking up arms, threatening with death those who might come out of their houses. The others went to the sacristy to steal clothing and other things that they might find of service to them. Finding the chests locked, with blows of a stone they opened them and stole whatever they wished. From the sacristy they went on to the guardhouse, which was not far away, and in which there was a fire burning, but everybody, even the sentinel, was sleeping so soundly that not even the many heavy blows given to the chests in the sacristy were sufficient to wake them. The Indians, seeing this, took a lighted brand from the same fire, and with it ignited the house in several places.

At this everybody awakened, the fathers, who were sleeping in separate rooms, and the

soldiers of the guard, who numbered only three besides the corporals. This lack was because one soldier went to the new foundation, as has been said, and the other had gone to the presidio three days before on account of illness, and had not yet been replaced. Besides those persons mentioned there were two carpenters in another room, one from the presidio who was ill, and another from the mission, and a blacksmith. There were also in another room two small boys, one the son of the lieutenant and the other his nephew. Against this small number of persons was gathered a formidable army, but with so little bravery that they went at the most unexpected hour of the night.

Father Fray Vicente, as soon as he awoke and saw the houses burning, ran to the guardhouse, which was also ablaze, and from which the soldiers had now begun to fire. The two little boys did the same, running to take refuge in the guardhouse under the protection of the soldiers. The blacksmith started to run out of the room, but as he ran they wounded him so severely that he died immediately.

The mission carpenter seized a gun that he had already loaded and succeeded in felling one of the Indians, which gave him time to escape and join the soldiers. The other carpenter, named Urselino, who was ill, was mortally wounded, although he lived until the fifth day,

during which time he was preparing for death,³² and it is piously believed that he went to be happy with God, for he gave very good signs of it. For instance, when he received the arrow wound that took his life the only words that he said were these: "Ah, Indian! you have killed me! May God pardon you!" In the same way he continued while he lived to forgive the one who had wounded him, and he made a will leaving all the property which he had in the warehouse, which was considerable, to the Indians of the mission of San Diego, for he had no legal heirs—the heroic act of a true disciple of Jesus Christ.

Father Luís Jayme, who awakened at the same time as his father companion, did not go to the guardhouse, but ran toward a crowd of Indians. As soon as he was close to them he saluted them with the usual salutation of "Love God, my sons!" The reply was to seize him and take him away from the mission to the bed of an arroyo. There they stripped him of everything, even the coverings of modesty, and began to fire innumerable arrows into his naked body and to rain blows upon it with macanas, taking his life in such a way that there was not found on his person a single unmutilated spot except his consecrated hands. God preserved these, as we ought piously to believe or infer from his religious and exemplary behavior, so that it

might be understood that he had not wronged the Indians, who repaid him with such cruelty, but rather had treated them with great uprightness, and that whatever he did was with the object of saving their souls and rescuing them from the maw of hell. And none of us doubts that he gladly shed his innocent blood to water that vineyard which he had cultivated with so much sweat, and which, with such a copious watering, will give savory fruits, and win the rest of the heathen who still remain unconverted. We thus hope in the Lord, the intercessor being the deceased venerable father, whose soul I do not doubt is now with God.

While some were martyring the venerable father, the rest were endeavoring to do the same with the other friar, who was with the soldiers in the guardhouse, which was now burning, as were also the rooms of the mission. With the object of making an end of them all, the Indians continued to fire arrows and hurl macanas at them. One of the soldiers who had no leather jacket was soon wounded by an arrow and put out of the fight, but the other three did everything possible, killing some Indians and wounding others.

The fire that was burning the house on all sides was no longer to be endured, and in order not to be roasted to death they decided to move into a little kitchen which consisted of a small

room made of adobes, with only three sides and about the height of a man, and whose roof was only some branches which the cook had put there to protect himself from the sun. With evident peril from the shower of arrows that did not cease, they all ran to that place.³³ But this only served to attract the attention of the Indians, and they forthwith set fire to the branches forming the roof, but as there were only a few of them it did no damage. What did molest them sorely were the arrows, macanas, and firebrands which they threw at them on the side that was not enclosed, and to free themselves from this danger they decided to go into one of the rooms which were burning and bring out some bales and boxes with which to make a barricade to protect themselves. They did this, but while engaged in this task another soldier was wounded and disabled.

They were now guarded on all four sides from the arrows; but not from the burning brands, the macanas, and the pieces of adobe which they threw at them over the walls. The corporal and soldiers, who were the only ones left not incapacitated, having been wounded but not seriously enough to cause trouble at the time, had no chance to fire. They had reached the point where the powder which the mission had for firing the salutes in the principal festivals was all gone. But they succeeded in finding some

more that was in a box, and it was the providence of the Lord, with the house burning fiercely as it was, that the fire did not reach it. With it they continued the defense until dawn of the next day, when the enemy began to retreat, carrying off their dead and wounded.

The second band of Indians, who went to fall on the presidio, did not reach it, for, those who attacked the mission made the blunder of setting fire to it before the others got to the presidio. As soon as they saw the fire at the mission from the road they supposed the people at the presidio would also see it. So they did not dare to go there, but went in all haste to join those who were at the mission, in order to help them in case the soldiers of the presidio should go to the aid of the mission, as they expected.

But at the presidio they were as careless as the guards of the mission, for they knew nothing of the event until the morning of the 5th, when a California Indian sent by Father Fray Vicente went to inform them as soon as the enemy had departed. The sentinel must doubtless have been asleep, for he did not see the great blaze, although the houses of the mission are visible from the presidio, nor did he hear even one shot of the many that were fired in the silence of the night, although the sunrise gun which they fire every day at the presidio is heard at the mission.

As soon as day dawned on the 5th and the heathen went away, the Christians came out of the pueblo and went to Father Fray Vicente, who was with the four wounded soldiers. Weeping, they told how the heathen had threatened them with death to prevent them from leaving their houses. Father Vicente at once ordered an Indian to go to the presidio and report all that had occurred. He commanded the others to look for Father Fray Luís, for his chief anxiety was that he did not know anything about his father companion. First he ran to the guard-room, when all the dwelling was burning. Not finding him with the soldiers, he left the guard-house and went, in evident peril of death, to look for him in the room, fearing that he was asleep and might be burned to death. But I have already said that this was not the case, but that he went toward the Indians, who murdered him so cruelly. But being ignorant of this Father Vicente presumed that Fray Luís must have concealed himself. Not knowing that the heathen had gone, he sent to look for him, and ordered others to put out the fire in the wheat granary, so that some of the supplies of the mission might be saved.

The Indians went to look for Father Fray Luís, and found him in the arroyo of the mission, already dead, one wound from head to foot, and clothed only in his innocent blood. They carried

him into the presence of Father Fray Vicente, who was beside himself when he looked at his dear companion, of whom he writes that his face was so disfigured and hacked by the blows of the macanas that he only knew it to be the body of Father Luís by the whiteness of his flesh where it showed between the red of his blood, which was the only clothing that covered him. Father Fray Vicente writes that in his whole body there was no other part unmutilated but his consecrated and innocent hands. I leave to the imagination of the reader the anguish the father must have felt when he saw his beloved companion murdered with such cruelty, and the extraordinary grief of those neophytes, who wept bitterly for the deceased friar whom they loved so much.

As soon as pain and grief gave Father Fray Vicente a chance to deliberate, he ordered the Indians to make some litters on which to carry the two deceased and the two wounded, who could not go on horseback, until help should arrive from the presidio. They did this, and as soon as the soldiers came from the presidio they moved the two dead men and all the wounded to the barracks, Father Fray Vicente accompanying them on foot.

Arrived there he gave burial to the two dead, the venerable father Fray Luís Jayme and the blacksmith José Romero. Efforts were made to

relieve the others, and the four soldiers, all of whom were wounded, recovered quickly. But the carpenter Urselino, who was the most seriously wounded, as I said, died an exemplary death on the fifth day after the cruel tragedy.

In a few days there arrived at the presidio of San Diego, behind the lieutenant, the fathers Fray Fermín Lazuén and Fray Gregorio Amurrio, who had gone to found the mission of San Juan Capistrano. This was postponed for the time being, as I have said, and the three friars celebrated the honors to the deceased father and wrote all about the occurrence to the reverend father president, despatching the letters by the messenger sent by the lieutenant to his commander at Monterey, as I shall relate in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

ARRIVAL AT MONTEREY OF THE NEWS OF THE OCCURRENCE IN SAN DIEGO, AND THE STEPS TAKEN IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT BY THE CAPTAIN COMMANDER DON FERNANDO DE RIVERA⁸⁴

On the 13th of December, 1775, just at night-fall, the lamentable news of the uprising at the mission of San Diego reached Monterey, brought by the courier sent by Don José Francisco de Ortega, the lieutenant in command at the presidio of San Diego. As soon as Commander Rivera read the letters he hastened to the mission of San Carlos del Carmelo to deliver those which the fathers had sent to the reverend father president and to give us this sad news, which caused much grief to all. In view of the report the commander said he was determined to go immediately to San Diego, but when the father president told him that he wished to go with him, the captain excused himself, saying that he was going in light marching order and that his Reverence could not keep up with his pace, but that he might accompany another party which was to go down soon afterward. Arrange-

ments were left in this way, and the captain returned that same night to his presidio.

On the following day we did the honors to the deceased father with vigils and High Mass, although in the opinion of all of us six friars who took part in the ceremony, for we all knew the dead father, his pious conduct and fervent zeal made it unnecessary for us to pray for him. Indeed, we might better beg him to pray for us, for we piously believe that his soul will go to enjoy God and receive the crown of martyrdom that he suffered for Jesus Christ. For if credit is to be given to the declaration of one of the principal aggressors, the motive for killing him was that he was baptizing so many, and that he wished to make an end of heathenism in the neighborhood of San Diego. However, lest his soul may need our support, let each of us missionaries apply twenty masses for his soul.

The captain having said that he would send to his Excellency from San Diego by way of California an account of what had happened, the reverend father president immediately set to work to write to the reverend father guardian of the College, enclosing the letter which he had just received from Father Fray Vicente Fuster, so that he might read everything that had happened at the mission of San Diego. At the same time he wrote to his Excellency a report of the occurrence, saying that not for this disaster

would the affairs of the friars who were in these conquests be allowed to languish, but rather, on the contrary, they would be more animated by the example of their deceased brother, whose martyrdom they envied. He said they only regretted the results of that cruel occurrence, because of the punishments that would without doubt be inflicted upon the Indians who might have joined in the uprising, and the delay that might occur in reëstablishing in the same place where it was, the burned mission of San Diego, which had been the first of these conquests; and he would also regret any delay in the founding of the new mission of San Juan Capistrano; but he was hoping that with his well known clemency and Catholic zeal his Excellency would show compassion towards the Diegueño Indians who took part in the murder of the deceased father, for undoubtedly it was through the influence of the Enemy of Souls and through lack of understanding of their act. He was confident that his Excellency would take up with greater fervor the rebuilding of that mission and the founding of that of San Juan Capistrano, so that the Enemy might not succeed in his purposes. He added that it could be done in security, and such misfortunes be avoided, by increasing the guard of the mission; for if the Indians should see a greater force for the defense they would restrain themselves, and the

desired purpose of their reduction and salvation would be accomplished.⁸⁵

The reverend father president sent these letters to the captain by the hand of the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz, who was going with the commander to the mission of San Antonio to be companion to Father Fray Buena-ventura Sitjar, so that Fathers Cambón and Pieras, who were ill, could go to Monterey to recover their health. On the 16th of the same month of December the captain left Monterey with thirteen soldiers, with the object of increasing the guards of the missions for defense in case anything should happen, leaving one at San Antonio, two at San Luís, and going on with ten to San Gabriel, as he did. Father Dumetz remained in San Antonio and the two sick fathers went up to Monterey, arriving at Carmelo on the 23d of December. The commander, finding nothing new in the first two missions, left the additional troops mentioned and went on to San Gabriel, where he arrived on the 3d of January, not finding there any special change.

On the following day, January 4, 1776, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Baptista de Anza arrived at the mission of San Gabriel with the land expedition of soldiers and settlers that he was conducting to the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco. The two commanders

discussed the orders that Anza brought from the superior government and what had happened at the mission of San Diego. When Don Fernando Rivera said that he was going to that presidio to pacify the country and punish those who might turn out to be culpable in the uprising, Señor Anza offered him assistance, not only the men whom he was bringing for the settlements of San Francisco, comprising thirty soldiers with their lieutenant, but also his own person and the ten soldiers that he brought from the Contra Costa for his return to Sonora. Señor Rivera accepted the offer of his person and eighteen soldiers. The two commanders set out from San Gabriel with twenty-eight soldiers and went to San Diego, accompanied by the father preacher Fray Pedro Font, missionary of the Apostolic College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, who went as chaplain of the expedition. The rest of the troops and the settlers remained in San Gabriel until their commander should return.

As soon as they reached San Diego Commander Rivera made a full investigation of what had occurred and of the measures that had been taken by his lieutenant, Ortega, and after learning everything he took steps to send a messenger by way of California to give a report to his Excellency. He communicated this to the commander, and said also that he wished to ask the

viceroy for twenty-five more soldiers, and to tell him that the founding of San Francisco would be postponed for the present. Señor Anza agreed to it all except the postponement of the founding, adding that the delay should not be put off longer than two months. So, having come to an agreement, the two commanders wrote their despatches and hurried off the courier.

Señor Anza expected that as soon as the courier went steps would be taken to run through all the heathen villages to chastise those who were found guilty of the attack on the mission. But Commander Rivera did not advise with him any more during the time that he was in San Diego, which was nearly a month, and only used the services of the sergeant of the presidio, sending him on two occasions to some neighboring villages.

Seeing this, but concealing his feelings, Señor Anza told Commander Rivera that he now had been detained long enough in San Diego, and had decided to go up with the people whom he had brought from Sonora to Monterey, where he was to leave them, and afterwards to the port of San Francisco to examine the rivers, as his Excellency had ordered.³⁶ The commander replied, after placing various difficulties in the way of his going on the affair of the rivers, that he might do as he pleased, but that he would

appreciate it if he would leave him twelve soldiers for any emergency that might occur. Señor Anza complied, and left San Diego after twenty days' stay there without any military operation whatever, although there were so many soldiers, about sixty men, a number sufficient to chastise and inspire with fear all the heathen of that region and of the Sierra, so that another time they would not be so bold.

CHAPTER XII

SECOND EXPEDITION OF DON JUAN BAPTISTA DE ANZA TO CONDUCT THE TROOPS TO THE PORT OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

As soon as his Excellency the Viceroy, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, saw the road open by the Colorado River for communication between Monterey and the provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, and the rest of New Spain, in his fervent zeal he projected a second expedition by the same road, with the object of bringing troops and families of settlers to occupy the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, with the intention of founding there a fort or presidio, and two missions in its neighborhood, assigning to each one of them six soldiers, and eighteen to the presidio or fort, besides some families of settlers. He gave the commission to recruit the troops and families as well as to go as commander of the expedition to the same Don Juan de Anza, now promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel as a reward for his first expedition, charging him to endeavor to recruit only married soldiers, with the object of settling the country.*

* See chapter I of this volume for an account of the preliminaries of Anza's second expedition.

For the expenses to be incurred his Excellency freely opened the royal treasury, ordering that Commander Anza be given everything that he might ask, for provisions as well as clothing for the soldiers and their families and also for the settlers, and to purchase horses, mules and a good stock of cattle, and four droves of mules for the transportation, with the order that everything was to remain in the new foundations for their advancement.

He also issued a decree in which he declared that everything spent for clothing, arms, and rations, for the troops as well as for the settlers, his Majesty was giving as a gratuity, and that the pay of the soldiers as well as of the settlers was to begin with the very day of their enlistment. Indeed, the royal treasury spent gratuitously up to the arrival at Monterey about eight hundred pesos for each soldier and family, besides the daily salary, as I heard from the purveyor who had charge of all the accounts.

As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Anza received the new commission, so strongly favored by his Excellency the Viceroy, he desired to discharge it with an energy equal to that with which he had carried out the first expedition. For this purpose, being at that time in the city of Mexico, he took steps to buy cloth and make clothing for all the people whom he expected to recruit, for men, women, boys, and girls of all ages; and he

ordered leather jackets and shields made and arms bought for the thirty soldiers. When everything was ready he sent it by pack train to the town of Sinaloa, where he intended to begin the recruiting.

From Mexico the commander set out after the pack train, taking with him a purveyor for the expedition named Don Mariano Vidal, in whose charge were placed the provisions and the accounting of all the expenses. At the same time, by virtue of an order which his Excellency had despatched to another commissioner in the province of Sonora, the business of gathering horses, mules, cattle, and provisions for the journey was attended to, in obedience to the superior order that everything should be ready when the expedition reached the frontier.

The commander arrived at the town of Sinaloa, and, unfurling the banner of the expedition and of the settlements on the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, he began to enlist soldiers and settlers. As soon as they were enrolled he proceeded to clothe them all from head to foot, and they began to live at the expense of the king, their pay running from that same day. Together with those who enlisted, he went on up to the presidio³⁷ of San Miguel de Horcasitas, where he arrived in the middle of September in the year 1775, with the entire expedition complete. There were thirty soldiers,

all married; ten of them were from the presidios and the remainder recruits. There were also twelve families of settlers. All together they comprised two hundred and thirty³⁸ souls, all of whom were to remain in the new settlements that were to be founded.

The entire expedition being now assembled in the town and presidio of San Miguel, and everything being ready for the journey, the departure was arranged for the 29th of September, the day dedicated to the holy prince of the celestial militia, San Miguel Arcángel, and for its complete success the expedition was commended to his holy patronage. For the consolation of the whole party, and also his own, the commander had asked his Excellency to please permit a father chaplain to go to say Mass for them and administer the holy sacraments. He consented to this very just petition, and the post of chaplain of the expedition was given to the father preacher Fray Pedro Font, of the Apostolic College *de propaganda fide* of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, then minister of the mission of San José de los Pimas, who gladly accepted the charge and entrusted his mission to another missionary father of his college. He traveled to the presidio of San Miguel to join the expedition, and accompanied Señor Anza not only on the expedition, but also on all the journeys that came up until the return to the province of Sonora.

His Excellency the Viceroy desired not only that the expedition should go from Sonora to Monterey, but that it should also make safe for the future the crossing of the Colorado River. In order to accomplish this purpose he decided that two missionary fathers of the same college, from among those who were administering the missions of the Pimería,* should go with the expedition as far as the Colorado River, so that they might there test the minds of the Yuma Indians who live on that river, to ascertain whether or not they would welcome one or more missions, and a presidio for their defense, with which establishments the crossing would be made safe. His Excellency added that it would please him very much if one of the two missionary fathers should be Father Fray Francisco Garcés, as he was experienced in those countries and well known to and much beloved by the Yuma Indians. As soon as that father heard of the desires of his Excellency, he took the road gladly with another missionary priest,† with the object of joining the San Francisco expedition, so that the fervent desires of his Excellency might be realized.

* The Pimería was the country of the Pima Indians, and embraced what are now northern Sonora and southern Arizona, where the Pimas still live.

† Father Tomás Eixarch. Both of these friars were martyred by the Yumas about five years later.

The expedition now being all assembled, it set out from the town of San Miguel on the day appointed, after celebrating the feast of that holy prince, making short marches in order not to tire the people. They reached the presidio of Tubac, which was under the charge and captaincy of Commander Anza, and there they rested for some days before attempting the deserts. Crossing these without serious mishap, as also the Gila River, they reached the Colorado,* where they were welcomed by the Yuma Indians, not merely in peace but with extraordinary manifestations of joy, especially on the part of Captain Palma, to whom Captain Anza presented a suit of clothes and a cane with a silver head. He did the same with another captain whom he presumed to be not inferior to Palma, although the villages under his rule were lower down towards the mouth of the Colorado River.

The commander proposed to Captain Palma that two fathers should remain there—Father Garcés, whom they already knew, and his companion—telling him that he must esteem them highly and take care that neither his Indians nor anyone else should do them any harm. Palma

* On his former expedition Anza went southwest from Tubac to Altár, thence traveled close to the Gulf, over Father Kino's old trail (the Camino del Diablo) to the junction of the Gila and the Colorado. On this second journey he led his colony north from Tubac to the Gila River, and descended that stream to the Gila-Colorado junction, where Yuma now stands.

was delighted, promised to take care of them, and said he would support them, for he had plenty of corn, beans, and pumpkins. The commander told him he would leave food enough to last the fathers until his return, but that his obligation was to see that they came to no harm. Palma promised faithfully to observe the charge, and so that the fathers might have a place to live in, the commander ordered those of the expedition to make them a little house during the days while they were delayed. Consequently, the fathers remained behind well satisfied without any other escort than the Indian Sebastián Taraval, Californian, of whom it has already been said in the story of the first expedition of Señor Anza that he guided him until he reached the mission of San Gabriel; but they were very happy in the hope of gaining the good will of the Yumas in order to found a mission for them.

Father Garcés remained there but a short time, however, for, as he had orders from his Excellency to explore the mouth of the Colorado River, he left his father companion with the Yuma Indians and Captain Palma, while he, with the Indian Taraval and a heathen Yuma, went to examine the mouth of the river, and from there crossed the mountains to come out at San Gabriel, whence he wrote to me.* Not find-

* On this remarkable journey Father Garcés, one of the hardest of American explorers, ascended the Colorado River to the Mojave

ing there Señor Anza, who had gone up to Monterey with his expedition, he begged of the commander, Don Fernando Rivera, who by chance passed through that mission at the same time, for a little food and two soldiers to go with him, for he desired to open a road, apart from the coast, from San Gabriel to San Luís. But as the commander refused it, he left the mission of San Gabriel with only such provisions as the fathers could give him from this mission; and with no escort but the two Indians, the Christian Californian and the heathen Yuma, he took the road to the Sierra, and up to the present we have had no reliable news from him.

At first it was rumored, at the mission of San Gabriel as well as at the presidio of San Diego, that the heathen in the Sierra had killed him, and when the report reached Commander Rivera he sent his lieutenant with soldiers to look into it. He found it was not true, because he encountered the father's tracks made long after the time when they said the Indians had taken his

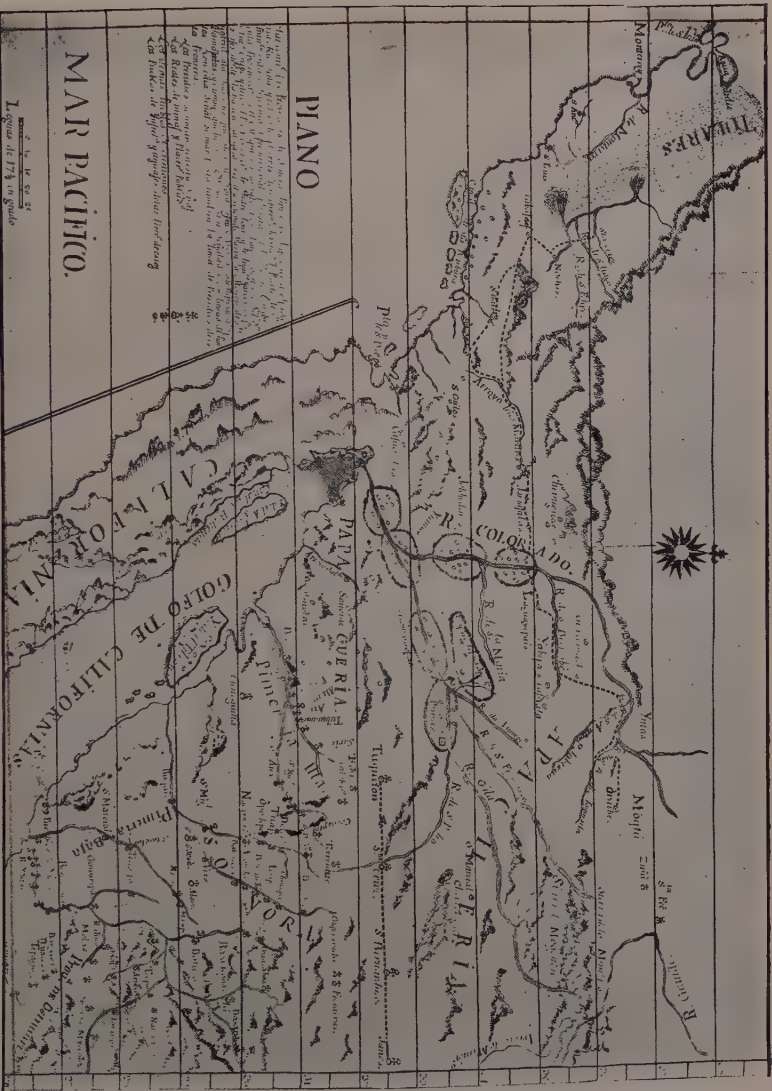
Indians near Needles. Thence he crossed the terrible Mojave Desert to Mojave River, turned southward through Cajón Pass, and reached Mission San Gabriel, his trail from the Yumas being an entirely new one to white men. Proceeding north from San Gabriel, he threaded the mountain passes and descended the San Joaquín Valley for a long distance. Retracing his steps, he traversed the Sierras through Tehachapi Pass, recrossed the desert to the Mojaves, continued northeast to the Hopi town of Oraibe. Back-tracking now, he returned to the Gila-Colorado junction to rejoin Father Eixarch. Few journeys by a lone white man ever equalled this remarkable feat of pioneering.

life. Afterwards a rumor was spread that he had gone to come out in New Mexico, but up to the present we have had no certain news.

As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Anza returned to the mission of San Gabriel,* he arranged for his march to Monterey, where he arrived safely on the 10th of March, in the afternoon. He immediately wrote to the reverend father president and notified him of his arrival with the expedition, and the father chaplain did the same, inviting all the fathers to sing on the following day a Mass of thanksgiving. We five religious of the mission of Carmelo went over next day and took part in the Mass. It was sung by Father Fray Pedro Font, who preached a fervent sermon to all the people of the expedition, inciting them to give thanks to God for the fortunate ending of the journey, and to Our Lady of Guadalupe, to the Prince and Archangel San Miguel, and to Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, who were the patrons of the expedition, for it was only through these powerful protectors that they had accomplished so successfully such a long and dangerous march. The Mass concluded, four of us fathers returned to the mission, the father president remaining at the presidio until the afternoon.

On the following day, March 12th, Señor Anza went to the mission of Carmelo, accom-

* That is, as soon as he returned from San Diego, whither he went to help Rivera quiet the Indians after the murder of Father Jayme.



MAR PACIFICO.

PLANO

1. Legua de 1776 en Gaud.

Map of Garés's Exploration of 1776.
Archivo General de Indias.

panied by the father chaplain and the purveyor of the expedition, and by the ten soldiers whom he brought from Sonora for his return trip, with the object of finding more comfortable quarters than those at the presidio, where he left Señor Don José Joaquín Moraga, lieutenant-captain (who came with the expedition to remain in the fort which was to be founded, as commander of the garrison) and all the rest of the people of the expedition. Señor Anza told us everything that had happened on the journey, and also the news from Mexico and San Diego and the order which he brought from his Excellency to go and explore the port of Our Father San Francisco and select sites for the three settlements, in accord with Commander Rivera, and to go afterwards and explore the rivers. He told us that it had been agreed with Don Fernando to postpone the new foundations for a short time on account of his many occupations at San Diego,³⁰ but that in the meantime, until Señor Rivera should be relieved of them, he would go with the lieutenant and explore the port, the rivers, and the sites.

Two days after their arrival Lieutenant Moraga went to the mission of Carmelo to return the visit, and he told his commander, Señor Anza, that all the people of the expedition were much discouraged because a letter from the captain-commander Rivera had arrived at Monterey at the same time as they did, in which he

ordered them to build houses in Monterey to live in until the settlement should be established; and the lieutenant added that there was a rumor among them that the delay would be at least a year. Señor Anza, hearing this, and fearing it might be the intention of Don Fernando to delay the settlement for a long time, contrary to the agreement, wrote to him at San Diego and told him of the discouragement felt by the people whom he had brought from Sonora. He said that in order to console them he wished to go soon to his destination, and that Don Fernando should bear in mind the regret that any delay in the founding would cause his Excellency. He added that if Rivera could not leave San Diego on account of affairs that he had in hand then, he could very well delegate the foundings to Lieutenant Moraga, a person to whom he could safely entrust this matter; but if he did not trust Moraga and judged Anza's own person necessary, he would gladly remain until the three settlements were established, simply to have the pleasure of taking to his Excellency the news so desired by him that the port of San Francisco had been settled. He concludes his letter by saying that he hopes that on the day when he returns from the exploration of the port and the rivers the reply with the decision will be in Monterey. He despatched this letter on the 17th of March with the party of soldiers who were leaving Monterey by order of Don Fernando.

CHAPTER XIII

EXPLORATION OF THE PORT AND RIVER OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO BY LIEUTENANT- COLONEL DON JUAN BAPTISTA DE ANZA

As soon as Commander Anza saw his expedition established in Monterey, which was the charge that he brought from his Excellency, he wished to put into effect the other commission, to explore the rivers and port of San Francisco, and in order to go with some light on the subject he desired that I should accompany him, since I had been twice in that port.⁴⁰ But when he spoke of it to the reverend father president he was of the opinion that it was not best, for reasons which he made known to him and with which he was satisfied. He therefore decided to take with him his chaplain, Father Font, Lieutenant Moraga, who was to remain there in command of the new presidio, and the escort of ten soldiers, eight of those whom he brought from Sonora and two from Monterey who had been at that harbor.

With this company he set out from Monterey on the 22d of March, taking the same road and direction that we took in the two expeditions which we made to that port. He reached the mouth of the harbor at the site of the cross which

I planted on the 4th of December, 1774. He entered, and at the interior terminus of the throat or entrance to the port he observed a white cliff, which, with the mountain opposite, narrows the strait more than in any other part, making a width of about a league, and he was of the opinion that this cliff would be very suitable for the fort and presidio, as Lieutenant Moraga, who was to assist in the founding, told him on the spot.

He continued on his way toward the interior of the harbor, and, turning inland and coming out on the beach of the estuary or arm of the sea running to the southeast,⁴¹ and arriving at the shore of the bay which the sailors called Los Llorones, he crossed an arroyo through which a large lake empties. He called this arroyo Los Dolores, and he thought it a good site for the mission which was to be founded in the neighborhood of the new presidio, for it is only about a league distant from the white cliff which had been selected as a site for the presidio.

He continued his journey to the southeast in sight of the bay until he came to the head. There he found a river, which, although it is narrow, has a good supply of water, and enters at the point of the estuary or arm of the sea. This river he named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe,*

* It is still so-called. It flows north past San José and enters San Francisco Bay at its head. Near it Mission Santa Clara was later founded.

and it seemed to him that the great plain through which the river flows was a very good site for another mission. It is about eighteen leagues distant from the harbor. He went around the bay and continued his road to the northwest in sight of the water. He went up as far as the round bay and reached the same place where Commander Don Pedro Fages was with Father Fray Juan Crespi, in the year 1772. Finding some large tule marshes ahead which gave him no chance to pass, he concluded that there were no such rivers, but that the great body of water* was a lake which communicated with the round bay, and the latter with the port.

He went up a little higher than the expedition of Don Pedro Fages and returned to Monterey, not by the same road but taking his way directly to the south. For this reason he was compelled to traverse a large mountain range, in which he spent three days' marches.† This overcome, he found himself in the valley of San Bernardino, and taking the same road as when they went up, they reached Monterey and the mission of Carmelo on April 8, where he told us all that he had seen and has been related, and also that everywhere they had been welcomed by the heathen without having had the least mishap in the journey.

* He is speaking of Suisun Bay.

† Leaving the San Joaquín Valley, Anza marched south along the ridges of the Coast Range till he emerged into Gilroy Valley (San Bernardino).

CHAPTER XIV

DON JUAN BAPTISTA DE ANZA RETURNS TO SONORA; WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM UP TO THE TIME WHEN HE LEFT SAN GABRIEL

At the time when Señor Anza returned from his exploration the courier had not returned from San Diego with the reply from Commander Rivera, notwithstanding that the time had passed when he expected this messenger. Nevertheless, he waited some days longer, lest the messenger had been delayed by something, but, seeing that he did not arrive, he decided to depart on the 14th, and in order not to be delayed in San Gabriel he despatched a courier to notify Don Fernando what day he would be at that mission, so that he might be there to receive what he had to deliver to him concerning his expedition. This messenger, who was Sergeant Góngora, set out, accompanied by two soldiers, two days ahead of Señor Anza, with orders not to lose a moment; and on the day planned Anza left Monterey with Father Font, his chaplain, and the purveyor, escorted by the soldiers whom he had brought from Sonora for his return.

Father Fray Miguel Pieras, who had now recovered from his illness, set out with the party, and returned to his mission of San Antonio.

On the road between the missions of San Antonio and San Lu s Sergeant G ngora met his captain, Don Fernando, who inquired where he was going, and he replied that he was going to San Diego to deliver the letter to his Grace. Don Fernando would not accept the letter, although he told him it was from the lieutenant-colonel, but told him to go back, and that neither he nor his soldiers should join his own men. G ngora followed him as far as the camping place, which was near, as it was already late, but the two parties camped separately. At daylight the commander sent for Sergeant G ngora, and asked him for the letter which on the day before he had refused to accept. Without opening it he handed another to the sergeant, telling him to return to Se or Anza. G ngora took the letter and in all haste, with the same soldiers that he had taken with him, he returned to Monterey. Shortly before reaching that presidio he met Se or Anza and delivered to him the letter from Don Fernando, telling him everything that had occurred with his commander, by which Se or Anza was offended, feeling wounded by this behavior.

Se or Anza continued on his way to San Antonio, and before reaching that mission the

two commanders met, but although Señor Anza stopped, Commander Rivera passed by without halting, with a simple salutation, not stopping for a moment. Seeing this, Señor Anza said: "Fathers and gentlemen who are accompanying me, please bear witness how this captain ignores me." Not even for this did Don Fernando stop, but went on his way to Monterey, and Señor Anza continued to San Antonio. While he was there he asked the fathers and the rest to certify to what had occurred, and from that mission he went on to San Luís, where took place what I shall relate hereinafter.

CHAPTER XV

ARRIVAL OF DON FERNANDO AT MONTEREY, WHAT HAPPENED UPON HIS ARRIVAL, AND DURING THE TIME THAT HE WAS THERE; NEWS OF THE OCCURRENCE AT SAN DIEGO

On the 15th day of April, in the afternoon, Commander Rivera reached Monterey, and as soon as he alighted he sent a soldier to Carmelo with a verbal message to the the father president, saying that he had arrived ill, but that as soon as he was better he would go to the mission to deliver the letters into his own hand, as he wished very much to do.

No sooner was this message received than the reverend father president⁴² started out with Fathers Murguía, Cambón and Peña, to welcome the commander. They found him suffering only from a pain in one leg, and that it was nothing of consequence. He delivered the letters, saying that he had not sent them because we wished to deliver them with his own hand, for it had happened that while bringing them in his pocket an envelope had got rubbed and torn, but that he had not read the least part of the contents,

and if it were necessary he would swear to it. The father president accepted them, saying that what he said was satisfactory, but that if he had wished to read the principal letter, which related all that had happened recently at San Diego, he might have done so, for that was the one which came with the envelope torn, so badly that the father president took out the letter without any trouble, or having to tear it any more, in order to read it when he returned to the mission.

The commander told the father president that at the mission of San Diego Father Fray Vicente Fuster had excommunicated him, because he took from the mission an Indian who had taken part in the uprising and who had taken refuge in the church, although he had previously sent a note demanding the criminal and the father had refused to give him up. Besides, he said that in San Diego there was no church, for they said Mass in a room of a house that served as a granary, but it was not a church, as some days before he had been told by Father Lazuén; and for the above reason, and in order to prevent any trouble, he had taken the prisoner to prevent his escape. He added that everybody who knew what had happened said he was in the right, but that the father had excommunicated him, and that his Reverence must see how it could be settled, to prevent trouble that might happen if this were not done.

The father president, who had not yet read the letters, asked him some questions, and from the answers he saw that he had deserved the excommunication. But he did not at that time wish to give his opinion, and so he told him he would read the letters, for doubtless they would relate what had happened, and then he would reply to him; he then returned with his fathers to the mission. As soon as the father president reached it he read to us the letters from Father Fray Vicente Fuster, minister of the mission of San Diego, and the fathers of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, Fray Fermín Lazuén and Fray Gregorio Amurrio, who were at that time in the presidio of San Diego, and who told everything that had passed between them and Captain Don Fernando Rivera. It was as follows:

One of the new Christians who had taken part in the uprising at the mission, having come to himself and apparently repented of the deed, took refuge in the church in which the holy sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated and the holy sacraments administered. As soon as Father Fray Vicente heard of it, he went in person to visit the captain, and told him what was going on, and that he must see what he could do to make peace. To this the captain replied that he was right, and that he would think of it. But what he did in reality was to send an official paper to that father, asking him to deliver up

the Indian criminal, called Carlos, who had taken refuge, for because of his crime the right of sanctuary was not available to him. Besides, the room where Mass was said was not a church but a warehouse, and, accordingly, he must deliver him within so many hours, and if this were not done he would get him out by force and take him a prisoner to the guardhouse.

In view of this letter Father Fray Vicente, aided by his companions who were there, prepared his reply, telling the commander that he could not deliver up the Indian without express command from the ordinary who had jurisdiction; that if his Grace should dare to take him out by force he would be excommunicated; and that this reply should be a warning to him, citing in the same paper the authorities which he had read in order to make his reply.

No sooner did the captain receive the paper than he assembled the troops and with them surrounded the chapel; and he himself with sword and baton in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, entered the chapel and seized the poor neophyte who had taken sanctuary there. Taking him out of the chapel he carried him to the guardhouse and ordered him placed in the stocks.

The fathers looked on⁴⁸ from the door of their room, witnessing the outrage without being able to prevent it; but Father Fray Vicente, as

minister of the mission, protested against the force that was being used on his church, saying in a loud voice that the captain and the rest who had taken part in removing the Indian from the church were excommunicated and should so regard themselves. To this the captain replied: "Yes, father, you may protest, but there goes the protest ahead," pointing at the prisoner whom the soldiers were taking.

The next day Father Fray Vicente sent him two notes at different times, warning him to return the criminal under pain of being published as excommunicated; but he was so far from doing this that he even refused to read the notes. Two days later, which was the day of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the fathers went to sing Mass to Our Lady, and before beginning it, the congregation being already assembled, Father Lazuén, who was to celebrate it, turned to the people and said: "Gentlemen, we are going to sing the Mass to Nuestra Señora de las Dolores in this church, for although it has been said that I have declared that it is not a church, I have said nothing of the kind. I have always said and do say in this spot that this is the church of this presidio, and that all those who assisted in taking from it the Indian whom they have prisoner in the guard-house are excommunicated, and as such they cannot attend Mass, and therefore if any one of them is present in the

church he must go out, for if he does not Mass can not be said." Those who had taken part went out and the Mass was sung.

This is what happened, and as the three fathers wrote in accord, Father Fuster concludes his account by saying that as he would not have time to write himself by Don Juan de Anza, or an opportunity to send the letter for the College to San Gabriel, he would be grateful to his Reverence if he would write to the reverend father guardian what had occurred and what had been done. These three letters they gave to Captain Don Fernando, who told the fathers that he was leaving San Diego for the purpose of making an expedition to the villages of the heathen, but that it was his intention to go to Monterey on account of having received a letter from Don Juan de Anza, and that he wished to deliver the answer to him in person. Relying upon this assurance, the fathers entrusted their letters to the captain himself.

The reverend father president, having learned just how the affair had happened, and having drawn out the same thing in substance from the captain by his questions, was of the opinion that without the least doubt he had deserved excommunication, and that the father had acted, in not delivering the Indian up without the legal precaution, like an experienced and reasonable man. Nevertheless, he charged us five missionary friars who had talked with the

captain to think over the matter and read all the authors whom we had in the mission.

After considering the case we were all of the opinion that the captain had merited the excommunication, and in order not to lose the opportunity of giving a report to the College by Señor Anza, the father president immediately wrote a letter to the reverend father guardian, telling him that he had no time to write in detail because it was necessary to seize the opportunity of the departure of Commander Anza, who had already left Monterey, and so he was sending him the three enclosed letters which he had just received from the three fathers who were in San Diego, so that when his reverence was informed of the occurrence he might take such steps as he thought best.

So that these letters might not be lost and might arrive safely to the hands of Señor Anza, the father president arranged that Father Fray Pedro Cambón, who was at Carmelo, should set out on the road with the letters until he should overtake Señor Anza. With this object he wrote a note to Captain Don Fernando, asking him for an escort to accompany the father, telling him that he was going to overtake Señor Anza to deliver to him some important letters. The reply to the note came by word of mouth by the same person who took it, and it was to the effect that at that moment they were giving medical treatment to the captain, but that he would reply to

it in the interval while preparations were being made for the departure of Father Cambón.

The entire day and the morning of the next day passed without any reply, and, seeing that time was passing and that the opportunity of securing such a safe messenger as Señor Anza might be lost, the father president despatched word in the afternoon to Monterey to Father Fray Tomás de la Peña to speak to the captain in regard to the escort for which he had asked on the previous day, and request him to give his version of the affair at San Diego, adding that in his opinion and that of all five of the friars, he had deserved the excommunication, and that if he wished to have his opinion in writing he would send it. Father Peña went with the note. The captain replied that in the matter of the affair at San Diego he already knew what his opinion was, and that it was sufficient to give it verbally. In regard to the escort, he replied that he had not read the note, but that he would at once give an escort of four soldiers, which he did. With them Father Cambón started from Monterey at four in the afternoon of the 18th of April; and at the same hour on the 20th of the same month he overtook Señor Anza at the mission of San Luís, and delivered to him the letters for the College.

Father Peña, who went to the presidio to accompany Father Cambón on the return to the

mission, said that as soon as the latter left the presidio Don Fernando told him that he too intended to start the next day to overtake Señor Anza. When he told him that the reverend father president had also decided to go to San Diego, he replied that they could not go together because he was going in a hurry and the reverend father president could not keep up with him. For this reason the father president was compelled to postpone going as he had planned, but with the intention of asking the lieutenant, who remained in command, for an escort to go to San Diego.

In the afternoon of the following day, which we count as the 19th of April, Commander Don Fernando Rivera set out from Monterey, and as he was about to mount his horse he handed to a soldier, a corporal, a letter for the father president, telling him as soon as he received it to send his reply to overtake him on the road. The father president received the letter sealed. Its contents were in substance a plea for absolution, which Rivera asked to have sent to him as soon as possible in case he had merited excommunication, although it seemed to him that in no court would he be judged guilty, and that he did not go so far as the fathers themselves had gone when they asked, on another occasion, that a criminal guilty of a grave offense should be given up to the sergeant of San Diego, though

now to him they had not been willing to give up the Indian. He concluded the letter by asking Father Serra for a reply as soon as possible, so that he might not be delayed.

The father president immediately answered that before absolution it was necessary to give satisfaction to the Church by restoring the Indian who had been taken from it, and that if he should do this the fathers at San Diego had the same power as he to absolve, and were well acquainted with their duties. As to the example he cited, of the occasion when the fathers delivered to the sergeant a criminal who had taken refuge, he said he would compare the two instances for his Grace; Rivera had asked for the refugee Indian by saying that on account of his crime he was not entitled to sanctuary, and that the spot where he took refuge was not a church but a warehouse, and if the father did not deliver him he would take him out by force, as he did, to the scandal of everybody; whereas the sergeant asked on the other occasion for a refugee soldier, and they delivered him on written demand of the Church, because he asked for him in legal form, as is the custom.

He received this reply four leagues from the presidio, where he had halted, and with it he traveled on to overtake Señor Anza, for he now felt some uneasiness about the way he had treated him, and he wished to bring about a reconciliation by giving him satisfaction for

what had occurred. He wrote to him by Father Cambón, saying that he desired to see him and talk with him, and that for this purpose he would leave Monterey on the 19th, and that he would regard it as a favor if he would tell him where he would be pleased to meet him, whether at San Luís or San Gabriel. Father Cambón delivered the letter to Señor Anza as soon as he reached San Luís, but the resentment of this gentleman was so great that he was not going to read the letter, and it was only through the persuasion of the fathers who were there and who wished to see peace between the two commanders that he was induced to read it, but he could not be persuaded to answer it.

On the afternoon of the 21st three soldiers belonging to the escort of Don Fernando appeared at the mission of San Luís, saying that the captain had stopped for a siesta some three leagues before reaching the mission, because he was very tired. As soon as the fathers learned of this they importuned Señor Anza to answer the letter that he had received from him, with the object of restoring friendship, which was highly necessary. They importuned him so much that in the end he yielded, for the sake of peace, but not to the extent that the fathers desired. He simply answered that he might communicate with him, but that it would have to be in writing, and solely on the subject of the new settlements on the port of San Francisco, which

was the commission he had brought from his Excellency. He sent this letter to Rivera, not by the soldiers who had come from the commander, but by four of his own escort, and Don Fernando replied by the same, apologizing for his behavior on the road when they met, saying that he was ill, and should therefore be pardoned for it. This letter Señor Anza received on the 22d of the same month of April.

On the same day, after dinner, while Señor Anza was taking his siesta,⁴⁴ Don Fernando arrived at the mission. He said he had already dined, and only took chocolate from the purveyor of the expedition. He sent a note to Señor Anza to inform him of his arrival and that he wished to speak to him, but the reply of that gentleman was that if he had anything to say to him it must be in writing. On receipt of this reply Commander Don Fernando Rivera took farewell of the fathers, who could not restrain him, and set out from the mission to join the soldiers, whom he had stationed farther beyond the mission, with orders not to enter it. With these soldiers he immediately took the road to San Gabriel, and Señor Anza did the same on the following day, making his marches behind those of Don Fernando, not wishing to overtake him.

Don Fernando reached the mission of San Gabriel on the 27th, and stopped in the house of the fathers. Señor Anza arrived on the 29th, and, after saluting the friars, who went out to

meet him, he told them he would not stop in the mission, lest there be controversies with Captain Don Fernando, and the fathers were not able to help it, much as they endeavored to do so, even though nothing was due from them. He pitched his tent, in which he lodged, and the two began to communicate by means of official notes, which apparently served more to cause trouble than to restore peace.

In the afternoon of May 2, Señor Anza left the mission and set out on the road to the Colorado River, notifying Don Fernando beforehand, so that if he wished he might write to his Excellency. The latter replied that he had not finished writing but that as soon as he had concluded he would send the parcels of letters to overtake him.

On the afternoon of the 3d, Señor Anza having halted, some soldiers came to him with two letters from Don Fernando, one for the reverend father guardian of our College, and the other for Señor Anza himself, telling him he was not sending him the parcel which he had for the viceroy, because one paper which he mentioned in the letter to his Excellency he had forgotten and left at San Diego, but that he would appreciate it if he would take the one enclosed for the reverend father guardian of San Fernando. Señor Anza's reply was to return the letter to him, with the answer that he was no messenger, and that he had already warned him in an official paper that he would

not carry any letters except those that contained matter concerning the settlement on the port of San Francisco, which was the commission that he had brought. This was their last official communication, and he went on his way with the intention, as soon as he reached Sonora, of giving account of everything to his Excellency, as he did from the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas.

In consequence of the report given by Señor Anza to his Excellency, the latter wrote to both officials, saying he regretted that on account of official etiquette the service should have been retarded. And his Excellency, having received a decree from his Majesty ordering the governor of California to change his residence to the presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, as soon as he received the papers from Señor Anza sent the decree to Old California, writing to Don Felipe Neve, lieutenant-colonel and actual governor of California, to go up immediately, without loss of time, to Monterey. He wrote also that as soon as possible the fort and two missions should be founded on the port of San Francisco, and that Captain Don Fernando should go to take command of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto.

The reverend father guardian wrote this to the father president in answer to the letters he had received in regard to the affair at San Diego,

saying that he very much regretted what had happened, but that the fathers were compelled to avail themselves of excommunication, and that after he had read about the occurrence to the Discretory it had been decided that no steps should be taken, since Don Fernando de Rivera was now leaving the new establishments.

And Don Fernando, having received the reply of Señor Anza, left San Gabriel on the 4th of the same month of May, and reached San Diego on the 7th. As soon as he arrived he wrote to the lieutenant of San Francisco, Don José Joaquín Moraga, whom he had left in command at Monterey, telling him to go to the port of San Francisco with twenty of the soldiers who had come, and found the presidio on the site designated by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan de Anza; that for the present the founding of the missions should be postponed; and that he should acquaint the reverend father president with this information. He wrote to the same effect to Sergeant Pablo Grixalva at San Gabriel, ordering him, with the soldiers belonging to San Francisco who had remained there, to go up to Monterey. These letters he despatched on the 8th by Sergeant Góngora, who had gone down with him to San Diego.

At the same time he despatched another messenger to Old California with the parcels of letters for his Excellency, directing Corporal

Guillermo Carrillo to go to the presidio of Loreto to deliver them into the very hands of the governor. As soon as Sergeant Grixalva received the letter with the order of his commander, he set out on the road with his men. He arrived safely at Monterey, and, after the letter was delivered to his lieutenant instructing him to go and found the presidio, Moraga decided upon the middle of June for the departure of the expedition, notifying the reverend father president with the original letter which he had received from his commander.

The president regretted that there was only mention of founding the presidio, and that the missions were to be postponed. Nevertheless, he determined, with wise forethought, although Commander Rivera said nothing whatever about missionaries going with the expedition to say Mass and administer the sacraments, that Father Cambón and I should go, for he had named us as ministers of the mission of Our Father San Francisco, with the object of giving spiritual aliment to all these people who were to go on that expedition, and with the purpose of being at hand for the founding of the mission, and so that in the interval until it should be carried out the sites might be examined and a beginning made of intercourse with the heathen who live in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER XVI

ARRIVAL OF THE BARKS *SAN CARLOS* AND *SAN ANTONIO* AT THE PORT OF MONTEREY

It has already been said in Chapter VIII that his Excellency ordered the two packets *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, made ready to transport provisions and goods to the presidios and missions for the year 1776, and that the frigate should rest this year. This was done, the barks mentioned being loaded with the consignments for the presidios, and as many provisions as could be accommodated;⁴⁵ and with such a cargo there was no room for the provisions for the missions, for only a few bales belonging to the missions found space. For this reason the missions were set back, being left without supplies, especially the two new ones that were to be founded, for nothing at all came for them, as everything belonging to them remained at San Blas, with the rest of the things of the other missions which could not be embarked.

On the 9th of March these barks sailed in convoy from San Blas, with the intention of both going to Monterey, which was the order of his Excellency. The packet *San Carlos* sailed

under command of Don Fernando Quiros, naval lieutenant of the royal fleet, with his pilots already named, Don José Cañizares and Don Cristóbal Revilla, carrying as chaplains Fathers Fray Vicente Santa María and Fray José Nosedal, both of our College. This bark brought a cargo of provisions and goods for the warehouse at Monterey and the remainder of the provisions for the new presidio of San Francisco, bearing orders to go, after leaving the cargo in Monterey, with what was left, and with two cannon that were to be taken on in that presidio, to the port of San Francisco.

The other packet sailed under command of Don Diego Choquet, frigate lieutenant of the royal fleet, with his two pilots Don Francisco Castro and Don Juan Baptista Aguirre, and his chaplain, Father Fray Benito Sierra, of the College of San Fernando. Part of the cargo on this bark was for Monterey, for there was no room for it on the *San Carlos*, but the greater part was for San Diego.

They sailed from San Blas on the day mentioned, but a few days afterward they separated, each taking its own course. The *Príncipe*, being the swifter craft, arrived first at Monterey, dropping anchor on the 21st day of May and setting to work at once to discharge its cargo, which was soon finished; but it was compelled to delay on account of having to carry to San Diego a

quantity of pine beams, which they were cutting and trimming. In the meantime the *San Carlos* arrived and dropped anchor on the 3d of June about three in the afternoon. As soon as Captain Quiros greeted the lieutenant in command of the presidio, he asked him for a courier to San Diego, partly to send the parcels of letters, and partly to take the order that they should deliver to him the two cannon. This messenger got ready at once and started on the 5th of the same month of June.

The unloading of what belonged at Monterey was begun at once; and in the ship that remained was put the cargo of provisions which had been stored in the warehouse since the previous year as belonging to San Francisco. There was also taken on board the greater part of the tools for the soldiers and settlers who were to go to the new foundations. In this way the expense of mules was saved; and the same advantage was gained by embarking the vestments and utensils for house and field belonging to the first mission that was to be founded in the neighborhood of the harbor of San Francisco upon the arrival of the *San Carlos*. The *Príncipe* was delayed still longer, and did not sail for San Diego until the last of July,⁴⁶ as I shall relate farther on.

CHAPTER XVII

ARRIVAL AT MONTEREY OF THE FAMILIES WHO HAD REMAINED IN SAN GABRIEL, AND THE COMING OF THE ORDER TO FOUND THE PRESIDIO OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO⁴⁷

It has already been said that by order of Commander Rivera twelve of the soldiers who had come with the expedition of Señor Anza had remained at San Gabriel and their families with them; and it has also been noted that the same commander sent an order for them to go up to Monterey. This was done, and they arrived at that presidio on the 28th day of May. By Sergeant Grixalva, who came in command of them, the lieutenant received the order from his superior to come with twenty of the soldiers from Sonora and the families of settlers, to the port of San Francisco, to found the fort or presidio on the site selected by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan de Anza; that for the present the founding of the two missions should be postponed awaiting new orders; and that the other ten soldiers from the thirty of the expedition should remain in Monterey.

The lieutenant complied, setting a day for the march by land, and on the 29th day of the same month of May he went to Carmelo to report to the reverend father president the order which he had received from his commander, and his decision to start in the middle of June. The reverend father president replied that although the founding of the two missions was postponed, nevertheless, the two friars whom he had appointed to be ministers of the first mission would go with the expedition, not only so that they might be ready, but principally to administer the holy sacraments to the people who were going. The lieutenant thanked him and went to the presidio to prepare for the march, and at the mission we did the same in order to be ready.

In a few days the *San Carlos* dropped anchor at Monterey, and its commander, as has been said, despatched a courier to San Diego. While awaiting the reply he unloaded what belonged to that presidio, and in its place he put what was destined for the presidio of San Francisco. Not having any reason to delay, the lieutenant set out with his expedition, as I shall relate in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EXPEDITION SETS OUT BY LAND TO FOUND THE PRESIDIO OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

On the 17th day of June, 1776, about two in the afternoon, the company of soldiers and families from Sonora set out from Monterey.⁴⁸ It was composed of its commander, Lieutenant Don José Joaquín Moraga, a sergeant, two corporals, and ten soldiers, all with their wives and families except the commander, who had left his in Sonora. In addition there were seven families of settlers, rationed and provisioned by the king; other persons attached to the soldiers and their families; five servant boys, muleteers and vaqueros, who conducted about two hundred of the king's cattle and some belonging to individuals, and the mule train which carried the provisions and utensils necessary for the road. All of the foregoing belonged to the new presidio. And for whatever concerned the first mission that was to be founded, we two ministers, Father Fray Pedro Benito Cambón and I, went with two servants who conducted the loads, and three unmarried Indian neophytes, two of them from Old California and the other from the mission

of Carmelo, who drove the cattle for the mission, numbering eighty-six head, which were incorporated with those for the presidio.

The officers of the vessels, with their pilots and chaplains, wished to accompany the expedition, and they all did so for about half a league. From this point the captain of the *Príncipe* and all the pilots turned back; but Don Fernando Quiros continued for the first day's march with the two father chaplains as far as the Monterey River, where the expedition halted and camped. On the following day, after having watched all the people cross the river and seen the line formed on that broad plain by all those people, the pack trains, cattle, and the horse herd, they returned to Monterey after taking farewell in the hope that we would soon meet in the port of Our Father San Francisco.

The expedition continued by the same road which was traveled in the exploration of that harbor in the year 1774, the account of which can be seen in its proper place. But the day's marches were shorter, in order not to fatigue the little children and the women, especially those who were pregnant, and for this reason it was even necessary to make several stops. On the whole way there was not a single mishap, thanks to God. We were well received by all the heathen whom we met on the road, who were surprised to see so many people of both sexes

and all ages, for up to that time they had not seen more than some few soldiers, on the occasions when they went to make the explorations. And they were astonished at the cattle, which they had never seen before.

On the 27th day of June the expedition arrived in the neighborhood of the harbor,⁴⁹ and the commander ordered the camp halted on the bank of a lagoon called by Señor Anza Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which is in sight of the bay of Los Llorones and the beach of the bay or arm of the sea which runs to the southeast, with the intention of waiting here for the bark in order to select the spot for the founding of the fort and presidio, and in the meantime to explore the land. On the following day he ordered a shelter of branches built to serve as a chapel in which to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass. In it the first Mass was said on the 29th, the feast of the great, holy apostles, San Pedro and San Pablo, and we continued to celebrate in it every day until the camp was moved to the site which it occupies near the landing place, when the ground and the convenience of water permitted it.

As soon as the expedition halted, the heathen of the neighboring villages came to the camp, attracted by the novelty of seeing such neighbors in their country. They came to visit us frequently, bringing their rude gifts of mussels and wild seeds, which were always reciprocated with

beads and some of our food, to which they soon took a liking, except the milk, which they did not wish to taste.

These natives are well formed, many of them being bearded, bald, and rather ugly, for they have a habit of pulling out the hair of their eyebrows by the roots, which makes them ugly. They are poor, and have no houses except little fences made of branches to shelter them somewhat from the heavy winds which prevail and are extremely annoying. The men go totally naked, though here and there one covers his shoulders with a sort of a little cape of beaver skins and pelican feathers. The women cover themselves only with plaited tules, for very few skins of animals are seen among them.

For an entire month the expedition remained in that camp, which was composed of field tents, waiting for the bark. Meanwhile soldiers, citizens, and servants employed themselves in cutting logs in order to have this much done when the bark should arrive. The lieutenant busied himself in exploring the land in the vicinity, where he found some springs of water, lagoons, pastures, and good sites for all kinds of stock. Near the white cliff he found two springs of water sufficient for the use of the presidio, and not far from them he found a good plain which is in sight of the harbor and entrance, and also of its interior. As soon as he saw the spot the lieutenant decided that it

was suitable for the presidio; but he delayed moving the people there, as he was waiting day by day for the arrival of the packet.

Seeing that it did not appear for a whole month, and as they wrote from Monterey, by the pack train which went to bring provisions, that it had sailed long ago, the lieutenant decided to move to that spot so that the soldiers might begin to build their huts for shelter, since it was nearer at hand for making a beginning of the houses. This he did on the 26th of July, setting to work immediately to construct some tule huts. The first was the one that was to serve as chapel, and in it I said Mass on the 28th of the same month.

Notwithstanding that the order of the commander, which was sent from San Diego to the lieutenant, was to found the presidio only, yet, seeing that he had plenty of men, among soldiers and settlers; that the site of the first mission was so near the presidio; and that as far as he had observed the heathen in the vicinity there was no reason at that time to fear them, as they had shown signs of friendship, the lieutenant decided that we two missionaries should remain, with a guard of six soldiers, all the cattle, and the other things belonging to the mission, so that hand might be put to cutting timbers for a dwelling; and he charged the soldiers and one settler to do the same, so as to have a place to live in with their families.

CHAPTER XIX

ARRIVAL OF THE PACKET *SAN CARLOS* AT THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESIDIO

It has already been said in the preceding chapter that when the expedition left Monterey the packet *San Carlos* remained at anchor loaded in that port, while its commander delayed sailing until the return of the messenger whom he had despatched to San Diego.⁵⁰ As soon as the courier arrived the *San Carlos* sailed from that port bound for San Francisco, but immediately after leaving Monterey it began to experience contrary winds, so strong that it was driven down to the parallel of San Diego, but very far from the coast. From that point it went on gradually ascending and gaining altitude until it reached forty-two degrees, at which latitude it approached the shore and then descended as far as Point Reyes. There it put in between that point and the northern farallones, dropping anchor on the north coast in the Gulf of the Farallones on the night of the 17th of August. On the following day it successfully entered the harbor, and about two o'clock in the afternoon

it anchored not very far from the spot where the soldiers were lodged, but not in sight of them, as the view was cut off by the point of the hill on whose skirts the camp was placed; but it was in sight of the white cliff and the entrance to the harbor.

As soon as the bark was made fast, the commander, pilots, and Father Nocedal went ashore. When they saw the site of the camp they were all of the opinion that it was a very suitable place for the fort and presidio, and they thought the same of the site of the Laguna de los Dolores for the mission. In view of the opinion of the captain of the bark and the pilots, work was begun on the building of the houses and the presidio. A square measuring ninety-two varas each way was marked out for it, with divisions for church, royal offices, warehouses, guardhouse, and houses for soldier settlers, a map of the plan being formed and drawn by the first pilot.

And so that the work might be done as speedily as possible, the commander designated a squad of sailors and the two carpenters to join the servants of the royal presidio in making a good warehouse in which to keep the provisions, a house for the commanding officer of the presidio, and a chapel for celebrating the holy sacrifice of the Mass, while the soldiers were making their own houses for their families.

The work on the presidio being now under way, Captain Don Fernando Quiros came to the site of the mission, accompanied by the chaplain, a pilot, the surgeon, and six sailors, to aid in building a church or chapel in which to celebrate Mass and a room to live in. With this assistance the buildings were begun, and everything progressed so well that by the middle of September the soldiers had their houses already made of logs, all with flat roofs; the lieutenant had his government house; and a warehouse was finished of the same material, large enough to store all the provisions brought by the bark.

It was then decided that the formal act of possession should take place, the day appointed for it being that on which our Mother Church celebrates the impression of the stigmata of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, that is, the 17th of September, a most appropriate day, since he is the patron of the harbor, the new presidio, and the mission. And for taking formal possession of the mission the 4th of October was designated, which is the day dedicated to Our Seraphic Father San Francisco. The commander of the packet, his two pilots, and the greater part of the crew were present at the ceremony of taking formal possession,* only those who were absolutely necessary remaining on board; and with the people from the presidio, troops as well

* That is, of the presidio site.

as citizens, they made up a goodly number of Spaniards. There were also present four friar priests, all of our College, that is, the two missionary ministers of this mission, the chaplain of the bark, and Father Fray Tomás de la Peña, who had come from Monterey to examine the site for the second mission, of which he had been named minister.

A solemn Mass was sung by the ministers, and when it was concluded the gentlemen performed the ceremony of taking formal possession. This finished, all entered the chapel and sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*, accompanied by peals of bells and repeated salvos of cannon, muskets, and guns, the bark responding with its swivel-guns, whose roar and the sound of the bells doubtless terrified the heathen, for they did not allow themselves to be seen for many days. The ceremony concluded, the commander of the presidio invited to it all the people, conducting himself with all the splendor that the place permitted, and supplying with his true kindness what would have been missed in other parts, for which all the people were grateful, expressing their gratitude in the joy and happiness which all felt on that day.

CHAPTER XX

NEW EXPLORATION OF THE RIVERS WHICH EMPTY INTO THE HARBOR OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

Immediately after the conclusion of the ceremony of taking possession and the founding of the presidio, work was begun at unloading the bark, since the warehouse was now finished. While the men were occupied in this task, the two commanders, by sea and by land, decided to go to explore the rivers, the lieutenant-commander of the presidio going by land with a party of soldiers, and the commander of the packet by water in the launch, taking the first pilot and the necessary crew. The commanders agreed with each other on what day and in what place the two parties were to meet, which was above the round bay,* at the disemboguement of the river into it, the plan being to ascend the river from there as far as possible, some going by land and some by the river.

The two officers, having thus agreed, set forth on the exploration on the 23d of September early in the morning, my father companion,

* Where Carquinez Strait enters San Pablo Bay.

Fray Pedro Cambón, going in the launch to say Mass for both expeditions, since in three days they were to meet at the mouth of the river. For this reason the vestment was sent with the land expedition, and for the same reason the provisions for those in the launch went also by land, only enough for a week being carried aboard. On the same morning, about eight o'clock, the lieutenant passed by here* with eight soldiers. Taking the vestment, he set out on the road in all haste, for he had to round the southeast bay, which penetrates about fifteen leagues into the land, and then go back as many more on the other side, in order to place himself in the parallel of the presidio, and from there go up to the round bay and to the mouth of the rivers, the spot agreed upon for the meeting of the two expeditions.

In order to save all this travel the commander by land thought it best, as soon as he should reach the point of the southeast bay, to cross over to the east side of the mountains, in order to reach the river without such a long detour. He did so, and this was the cause of the failure of those expeditions to meet and to accomplish what was desired.

On the day appointed the launch arrived at the mouth of the river, where it waited a day longer for the land expedition. Then, seeing

* Palou is now writing at Mission Dolores.

that it did not appear, and that the provisions were getting low, as the rest of the supplies had gone by land, the captain decided to go down again to the harbor, as he did, arriving in the afternoon of the 29th of the same month of September, where he told us with a great deal of sorrow the cause of his returning so soon, in consequence of which he had not been able to accomplish the desired purpose of sailing up the river. He said that he had only seen that part of it which he had examined the previous year, but that the map which he had made of that first exploration was very accurate, and that he had nothing to take away or to add.

Even though he did not succeed in exploring the river, he did make sure that this harbor has no communication with that of Captain Bodega,* which was also charged by his Excellency. For, having explored in that direction, he only found, as before, another arm or large estuary. And after sailing through it for two days he came to the end of it and learned that it does not communicate with the sea in that direction, and likewise that the two harbors do not communicate with each other. He was confirmed in this conclusion, for while he was at the head of the estuary he had in front of him and in sight, a very high mountain range which ran to the west,

* Bodega Bay and Tomales Bay are meant. See above, p. 47. Quiros ascended Petaluma Creek at this time.

and apparently went to end in some cape on the coast much farther up than the harbor of Bodega. And according to the latitude in which the launch was at the head of the bay, he judged that this range must be the one which ends in Cape Mendocino. For the reason already given, the expedition by sea could not explore any farther.

The land expedition, as soon as it crossed the mountains through a pass of low hills which facilitated the march, found itself in the plain which is crossed by the large river.* The lieutenant-commander, seeing that they were much farther up than had been agreed upon, and concluding that according to the time set he would not now be able to meet the men of the launch, decided to continue⁵¹ through the plain up the river. He did this, following the stream for three entire days, traveling rapidly. He came to several heathen villages and was welcomed everywhere with demonstrations of pleasure and friendship, the heathen making him presents of seeds and fish, which he reciprocated with beads. He observed that farther up the country was uninhabited by heathen.†

The plain through which that river runs, he said, is as level as the palm of the hand, without any trees except in the bed of the river. It is

* The San Joaquín.

† He must have ascended the valley past the site of Modesto.

an immense plain, for he did not see the end of it, and he reached a place where it made a horizon in every direction, so that he saw the sun rise and set in the same way as if he were on the high sea. It was excessively hot.

After traveling much further on the bank of the river, he observed that, although it was very wide, it apparently did not carry much water, and he wished to try his luck in crossing it, but some heathen, seeing what he was about to do, made signs that he must not cross unless he followed them. He did this, and, ascending a little farther, they showed him a ford, and by it he crossed the great river of Our Father San Francisco, guided by the heathen. On the other side of the river he found that the same plain and level land continued. They traveled over it all one day. To the north in the same plain they saw some groves, which, judging by the windings which they made, marked the course of rivers, but they did not dare to explore them lest they be lost in that wide plain, for they were without a compass by which to guide themselves. Consequently, they went back and recrossed the river by the same ford, and, returning by the same road, arrived at the presidio on the 7th of October, without having had the slightest mishap in the journey.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO NEAR THE HARBOR OF THAT NAME

It has already been said that notwithstanding the order of Commander Don Fernando Rivera that for the present the presidio alone should be founded, his lieutenant decided that the founding might go on, for he had enough men for both the presidio and a mission.⁵² With this object, when the expedition set out to make a beginning of the buildings of the presidio, he left us two missionaries in this place at the Laguna de Los Dolores, with an escort of six soldiers, one named as corporal in command, and a citizen settler with his family, besides the families of the six soldiers who were married. As soon as we found ourselves alone work was begun, aided by the three servants, in cutting timber to begin the building of the chapel and the dwelling houses. By the time the bark arrived we already had plenty of timber, and with the aid of some sailors, who were furnished by Commander Quiros, in a short time a house ten varas long and five wide, all of wood, covered with clay and with a roof of tule, was finished. Immediately

afterward a church, eighteen varas long, was built of the same material, with a room for the sacristy behind the altar, and adorned as well as possible with cloths and drapery and with the banners and pennants of the bark. The chapel was blessed with all ceremony on the 3d of October, the Eve of Our Seraphic Father, it being our intention to celebrate the occasion on the following day with all solemnity. But, as the lieutenant had not returned from his expedition at the end of the day, it was agreed to postpone the founding and merely to sing a Mass on the day of Our Seraphic Father, as was done.

On the 8th of the same month, the lieutenant having arrived the previous afternoon, the ceremony was performed, in the presence of the gentlemen of the bark and all the crew except those required to take care of the vessel, and of the commander of the presidio with all the troops and citizens, only those that were absolutely required remaining in the fort. I sang the Mass with the ministers, and at its conclusion a procession was formed, in which an image of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, patron of the port, presidio, and mission, was carried on a frame. The function was celebrated with repeated salvos of muskets, rifles, and the swivel-guns that were brought from the bark for this purpose, and also with rockets. All the people

who were present at the ceremony remained at the mission to dine, two beeves having been killed for their entertainment. In the afternoon the men returned to the presidio and the crew went on board, the day having been a very joyous one for all. The heathen were the only ones who did not enjoy this happy day, as I shall relate at length in the next chapter.

The founding of the presidio and mission concluded, the sea commander decided to prepare the bark for its return to San Blas, ordering wood and water taken on and the necessary ballast loaded. Everything being finished, and the weather favorable, it safely left this harbor on the morning of the 21st of October. The mission had been successfully founded, not only through the presence of the gentlemen at the function, but also with the aid of some sailors, who assisted in the building, and of the carpenter, who made the doors of the church and house, and a table with two drawers for the altar. Besides this, a gift was made of a cayuco and a net for fishing. At the same time it was arranged that four sailors should remain as laborers, completing the number of six who were allowed by his Excellency. With this reënforcement the work proceeded on the buildings and in preparing the land for planting. Crops were put in, and a good stream of water for irrigating was conducted by a ditch which passes close to the houses.

CHAPTER XXII

OCCURRENCE AT THIS MISSION OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

The heathen of the village near this place made frequent visits, and were apparently pleased with our arrival, although, through lack of interpreters and our ignorance of their language, we could not tell them the purpose of our coming. They went on in this way until the 12th of August, when the heathen of the villages of San Mateo, who are their enemies, fell upon them at a large town about a league from this lagoon, burned it and had a fight, in which there were many wounded and dead on both sides. Apparently the Indians of this vicinity were defeated, and so fearful were they of the others that they made tule rafts and all moved to the shore opposite the presidio, or to the mountains on the east side of the bay. We were unable to restrain them, even though we let them know by signs that they should have no fear, for the soldiers would defend them.

After their removal their visits were very rare, and only now and then some men and boys came, and then only because they happened to

come to this lagoon to hunt ducks. They generally gave us some of them, and we returned the gift with beads and some of our food. In the last visits which they made early in December they began to disgrace themselves, now by thefts, now by firing an arrow close to the corporal of the guard, and again by trying to kiss the wife of a soldier, as well as by threatening to fire an arrow at a neophyte from the mission of Carmelo who was at this mission.

The sergeant, who was at this mission in the middle of December, learned of all this, and one day when five heathen came to visit us and one of them turned out to be the one who a few days before had threatened, or made a gesture, to fire the arrow at the neophyte, he caused him to be arrested, and given a flogging in the guardhouse. On hearing his cries two heathen who were hunting on the lagoon ran up, and they were bold enough to try to avenge the injury, making ready to shoot arrows at the soldiers, who fired two gunshots only to frighten them, and in fact they fled without any injury having occurred. The sergeant followed them, and, seeing that they entered the wood toward the beach, he returned to the presidio, where he was in command as a substitute for the lieutenant.

Fearing that the Indians would cross the bay, on the following day the sergeant went to the beach with some soldiers to order the two



Mission San Francisco.

From a nineteenth century painting. The gibbet represents the hanging of Judas on Good Friday.

Indians who had fired arrows at the mission flogged, to frighten them. On the beach, he found a band of heathen. When they were asked which ones had fired arrows at the mission, they pointed out two, and although they denied it the others accused them. The sergeant alighted, and when they saw the movement the two guilty ones fled, and two of the soldiers followed them. The rest of the Indians withdrew and began to shoot arrows, wounding a citizen who had gone without his leather jacket, and also a horse, although they were not seriously hurt.

The sergeant, seeing this and that they did not stop shooting, ordered the men to fire, and the wounded citizen brought down one with a ball and he fell dead in the water of the bay. The rest ran to take refuge among some isolated rocks not far away, whence they continued to shoot their arrows. The sergeant fired at them and at one shot the ball went through the leg of one of them and then pierced the rock, for they found the hole next day, and signs that the Indians had taken out the ball, doubtless to see what it was that had made such havoc among them. As soon as the Indians among the isolated rocks saw one of their number dead and the other so badly wounded, they asked for peace, making the gesture of throwing their bows and arrows on the ground. The sergeant did the same with his gun, upon which they became

quiet, but they did not wish to go to the beach when the sergeant called them to collect their things.

The soldiers caught the two who had run off to the woods, and the sergeant went to them and charged them with having dared to fire arrows at the mission, caused them to be whipped, and told them by signs that if they did it again he would kill them. He told them to gather up all the things they had there, their own as well as those of their companions, and to tell the others not to do any harm and they would be friends.

Because of this misadventure they became panic-stricken and absented themselves to such an extent that they did not dare to approach the mission or the presidio, and did not permit themselves to be seen for three months, up to the beginning of March. Thereafter, now and then one came to the mission, and little by little they yielded themselves up, so that on the day of San Juan Baptista, June 24, 1777, the first three were baptized, they being adults, but the rest of the heathen came no more.

CHAPTER XXIII

JOURNEY OF THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT TO THE PRESIDIO OF SAN DIEGO, HIS SUCCESS IN REBUILDING THE MISSION OF THAT NAME THERE, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

From the time when the news of the uprising of the Indians of San Diego reached Monterey, the reverend father president had entertained a lively desire to go there to reëstablish the mission on the same site, but on three different occasions when he attempted to do it he was prevented.⁵³ But when he was least thinking of it God furnished him with as good an opportunity as his Reverence could have wished for, enabling him to escape such a long journey by land, when his advanced age of sixty-four years did not permit so strenuous a task.

I have already said that the packet *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, at the time of the departure of the land expedition from Monterey for the port of San Francisco, was on the eve of setting sail for San Diego, as in fact it did immediately. But it met such contrary winds

that it ascended as far as the port of San Francisco, and at the end of a week, after battling against the wind, it returned to the same port of Monterey. At the same time the commander of San Diego arrived, having been sent by the captain and commander of the *San Carlos*. By him the reverend father president received letters from the fathers of the missions of San Diego and those on the mainland,* in which they told him that no steps were being taken to reestablish the mission of San Diego, or to found that of San Juan Capistrano, and that as far as they could see Commander Don Fernando Rivera was not thinking of it. At the same time some of the missionaries wrote to him that they were discouraged, and asked permission to retire to the College.

As soon as the father president read these letters he was anxious not to lose the opportunity of going on the packet *San Antonio*, which was sailing soon for San Diego. So he embarked in it, taking with him Father Fray Vicente Santa María, with the object of putting him as minister in one of the missions lower down, in case it should not be possible to console those who were asking permission to retire. In the same packet Father Fray Benito Sierra went as chaplain, for which reason Father Nocedal remained alone at San Carlos.

* Of Sonora.

On the 30th of June the *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, sailed from Monterey, and without having the slightest trouble on the voyage it dropped anchor in the port of San Diego on the 11th of July. The father president inquired of the fathers who were in San Diego about the state of the Indians of the mission, and they told him that the commander had already written to his Excellency by a messenger whom he despatched by way of California that the country was now pacified and that he had arrested all the leaders of the uprising, but that as far as they could see no steps were being taken for the rebuilding of the mission, either on the same site or on any other. They were all there in the presidio doing nothing, and this was the cause of the discouragement of the three missionaries who asked permission to retire.

The father president, having learned the status of the question of the missions, wished to take measures to reestablish the mission of San Diego, and to proceed afterwards to the founding of that of San Juan Capistrano. In order to accomplish these ends he availed himself of the following means: he spoke first to the captain of the packet, Don Diego Choquet, proposing to him that in case he succeeded in obtaining an escort for the mission of San Diego from the land commander, Don Fernando Rivera, Captain Choquet should lend him some sailors while

they remained in port to aid him in rebuilding the mission. The captain replied in such a Christian spirit that he offered not only the sailors but said that he himself would go in person as overseer, and if necessary as a laborer.

This aid having been obtained, the father president wrote an official paper to the land commander, telling him that since the country was now pacified, as his Grace had informed his Excellency, he had decided to go on with the rebuilding⁵⁴ of the burned mission of San Diego, seizing the good opportunity of the aid of laborers offered him by the commander of the packet, and that he would be thankful to his Grace if he would give him the necessary guard. In view of this paper the commander did not dare to oppose him or to refuse the guard, and so he designated six soldiers, one of them as corporal, to go to the site of the mission and guard the fathers as well as the laborers who were there. This accomplished, he appointed the 22d of August of the same year of 1776, as the time for going to begin the rebuilding.

The reverend father president left the presidio with two other missionaries, accompanied by the sea commander, who took with him one of the pilots, the boatswain of the bark, and twenty sailors, all of them carrying firearms for defense in case of resistance. The Indian neophytes of the mission who had not taken part

in the uprising also went, all being escorted by the six leather-jacket soldiers.

As soon as they reached the site they distributed the workmen, who made up⁵⁵ the number of fifty, twenty being sailors and the remainder Indians. Some of them began to carry stone, others to open trenches for foundations, and others to make adobes, for erecting a walled square for defense, and afterwards to build inside of it the church, house, and offices. In this way they worked cheerfully and without the least trouble for fifteen days. In that time they brought up a great deal of stone and made more than seven thousand adobes, and they expected that in two more weeks of work the wall would be built all around the place. The father president was hoping that during the stay of the bark the mission would be finished, with many improvements, and that after the departure of the bark and the conclusion of the work there would be time for them to plant the wheat, but the Enemy made his own planting to impede the work, availing himself of the means which I now relate:

One of the Christian neophytes of the mission of San Diego went to the presidio and told Commander Don Fernando that a heathen had told him that the people in the villages wished to fight again, and that they were preparing many arrows. Thereupon, Commander Don Fernando

sent the sergeant of the presidio with a detachment to ascertain the truth, and he returned saying that he had not seen the slightest reason for believing the rumor that was going about. For this reason he gave no credit to it, and neither did the commander. But the testimony of the neophyte gave it credit, and Don Fernando became so alarmed that he at once set out on the road with some soldiers and went to the site of the mission. Here he found the people resting that day, all very happy and joyful, because it was September 8, the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. Arrived there, he called the sea commander and told him he had learned that the heathen planned to attack the mission again, and so he had decided to remove the escort of soldiers, and that he should also retire with his men, for this was necessary for the royal service.

Don Diego Choquet, with all his cleverness and force, was not able to change the decision of the commander by land, and so, in order not to be responsible, he decided to retire with his men. He communicated this decision to the reverend father president, who felt it keenly. Indeed the sorrow that this notification caused him equaled or exceeded the pleasure that he had felt before in seeing the progress made, and in his hopes to see the mission rebuilt soon, with great improvements over the former one. But notwithstanding his regret, which he did not fail to



Mission San Juan Capistrano, after destruction by the earthquake of 1812.

From a nineteenth century painting.

express to the commander, he yielded to God's will, begging Him, since it was His cause, to have mercy upon him.

On this same day everybody returned to the presidio, abandoning the site through fear of the Indians, without any more reason for suspecting them than what has already been related. But His Divine Majesty, who regarded that mission as His vineyard, prepared an efficacious means whereby the reëstablishment of the mission should take place, as I shall say in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV

REPLIES FROM MEXICO IN FAVOR OF THE MISSION OF SAN DIEGO

The reverend father president was at the presidio in this distress, seeing his intention of reëstablishing the mission of San Diego frustrated and the work that was going on with such vigor suppressed. But a few days after he withdrew from the site of the mission of San Diego⁵⁶ to the presidio, God sent him some consolation by an Indian of Old California, who appeared at that presidio and said he had run away from his own mission twenty days before, and that he had been so long in coming because he had only traveled at night, through fear of the heathen. He added, moreover, that the corporal of San Diego, Guillermo Carrillo, was at the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, having been sent as a courier by Commander Rivera, as has already been said, to the presidio of Loreto with papers for his Excellency, and that he was detained, awaiting the arrival of some new soldiers who were going up from Loreto to San Diego. The father president gave credit to his story, hoping that these might be the soldiers

for whom he had asked his Excellency for the purpose of increasing the guard of the missions; for if this were so, without doubt the mission of San Diego would be rebuilt on the same site, and that of San Juan Capistrano would be founded. The commander formed the same opinion of the coming of the soldiers, saying that he had written to his Excellency, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Anza, to ask for twenty-five men to reënforce the presidio.

The father president, wishing to know what truth there was in this report, asked, jointly with the sea commander, that Don Fernando should send a detachment to the frontier of Vellicatá, for there might at least be some papers from his Excellency delayed there. He remembered that he had several times heard Rivera say that he had promised Corporal Carrillo that in the middle of July he would send a party to Vellicatá to accompany him, and he thought that perhaps these might be the soldiers waiting for him there, and not new ones from Loreto, and that the Indian fugitive might have misunderstood it. But they could not induce him to detach a force, without doubt because he wished to give credit to the report that the heathen intended to attack San Diego a second time, or so that it should not be said that he had ordered the work on the mission postponed because he considered the number of soldiers too small, and because a few

days before he had detached a party to accompany a corporal whom he had sent with mail.

Although the commander took no steps to solve the doubt, the corporal himself hastened to make the news known with certainty, for on the road he detached some soldiers to go ahead, carrying a letter to his commander informing him that he was coming up with twenty-five new soldiers who had come from Loreto bound for San Diego, and that some soldiers were coming with him from California for the purpose of taking back the mules that the twenty-five men had borrowed. This letter came to the hands of the commander on the 25th of September, and as he did not have the letters from his Excellency the Viceroy, he immediately despatched a messenger to Carrillo telling him at once to send the letters, which he believed had replies to what he had written to his Excellency in the month of February, jointly with Señor Anza, asking him for twenty-five men to reënforce the presidios, in view of what had happened at the mission of San Diego.

The reverend father president was in the same impatience to receive a letter from Mexico, for he was awaiting a reply from his Excellency to the letter which he had written reporting what had happened at San Diego, and begging pardon for the Diegueño Indians who had taken part in the uprising at the mission and the cruel death

of the Venerable Father Fray Luís, his missionary father. He added that he expected from that friar's Christian zeal that the mission of San Diego would be reëstablished on the same site, that the founding of San Juan Capistrano would not be retarded, and that it could be done with greater security if his Excellency would send a number of soldiers to increase the escorts of the missions.

The letters reached San Diego on the 28th of September, and on the following day, the Feast of San Miguel, the twenty-five men who had been recruited in Guadalaxara and its environs arrived with their captain, Don Pedro Fages, commissioned by his Excellency, and sent by him clothed and armed to San Blas, where they embarked. They had stopped at the presidio of Loreto in Old California, with a letter from the superior government ordering them to go by land to the presidio of San Diego.

In the parcels came letters for the reverend father president from the reverend father guardian, telling him that the College as well as his Excellency the Viceroy had regretted the death of the Venerable Father Fray Luís Jayme. There was also a letter from his Excellency, who told him the same thing; and saying, in reply to the points about which he had written him, that he was sending to Captain Don Fernando Rivera his superior order, commanding him to

pardon the Indians who might be found guilty of taking part in the uprising at San Diego, and to treat them with compassion, as it would conduce to the pacification of the souls, and to other ends that his Reverence had explained to him. He said, moreover, that the principal purpose in sending the twenty-five men was that the two missions of San Diego and San Juan Capistrano might be immediately reëstablished in the same places as formerly. The captain was to place at each one the number of soldiers which he might judge proper according to present circumstances. If there should be any left, he was to reënforce the presidio of San Diego. His Excellency concludes his letter by saying that he is to be kept informed of everything for his consolation, and so that he may coöperate in making his measures effective.

When the reverend father president read the order of his Excellency in which he directed that the two missions should be reëstablished, he could not refrain from giving expression to the joy that he felt. So he ordered a solemn peal of bells to be rung, and on the following day he sang a Mass in thanksgiving for the good news which had come. And Captain Don Fernando, after being informed of the superior orders which the father had received, found it necessary to change his opinion. Accordingly, in fulfillment of that order he postponed

embarking the prisoners whom he had arrested with the intention of sending them to San Blas. He also gave permission to reëstablish the mission of San Diego in the old place, appointing twelve men as guard, and to proceed with the founding of San Juan Capistrano with a guard of eleven soldiers. He added two soldiers to the mission of San Gabriel, assigning those that were left over to the presidio of San Diego, which, with this reënforcement, had thirty men.

As soon as the captain had made this distribution, giving the corresponding orders for it, he left San Diego on the 11th of October and went up to Monterey, with the intention of giving a hand to the founding of the two missions of the harbor of San Francisco, which his Excellency supposed were already founded, as in fact one of them was, but the captain was ignorant of it because it had been done against his orders, as has been said.

As soon as the reverend father president received permission to reëstablish the mission of San Diego with so good an escort as twelve men, he went to the site with some of the missionary fathers, and the work was immediately begun with all energy. Leaving it well under way he went on to found Mission San Juan Capistrano, saying the first Mass in it on the 1st day of November, the great feast of All Saints, in the year 1776. When the work was well advanced

he went up to Monterey, visiting the rest of the missions on the way, and arriving at his own mission of San Carlos on the Carmelo River on the 1st of January, 1777. In these tasks and journeys he had spent half a year.

The reverend father president greatly regretted the discouragement of the friars in the missions down below and that they should wish to retire to the College, and in order to keep and console them all he took the means that he thought most effective. This was to redistribute them, sending them from the missions where they were discouraged to others. The new assignment was as follows:

For the mission of San Diego he appointed as ministers the father preachers Fray Fermín Lazuén and Fray Juan Figuer.

For San Juan Capistrano the father lecturer Fray Pablo Mugártegui and the father preacher Fray Gregorio Amurrio.

For San Gabriel the father preachers Fray Antonio Cruzado and Fray Miguel Sánchez.

For San Luís the father preacher Fray Antonio Paterna, and the father preacher Fray José Caballer.

For San Antonio the same ones who had been there since its founding, the father preachers Fray Miguel Pieras and Fray Buenaventura Sitjar.

For the mission of San Carlos on Carmelo River, his Reverence and the father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, with the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz as third minister.

Besides these there were two supernumeraries, the father preachers Fray Vicente Fuster and Fray Vicente Santa María. The last-named was destined for the mission of Our Father San Francisco, and the former for that of San Gabriel, so that in case anything happened in the missions below, any vacancy that occurred might be filled. With this wise distribution all were pleased, and they worked cheerfully in this vineyard of the Lord.

CHAPTER XXV

VISIT OF THE CAPTAIN COMMANDER TO THE NEW PRESIDIO OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO, AND WHAT HAPPENED AT THAT TIME

Having sent from San Diego to his lieutenant, Don José Joaquín Moraga,⁵⁷ an order that he should go with his troops to found only the presidio of Our Father San Francisco, and that the founding of the missions should be postponed, Commander Don Fernando Rivera assumed that this had been so done. But since his Excellency, in the last letters that he wrote to him, took it for granted that these foundings had been made, as soon as Don Fernando received them and was free of his tasks at San Diego, he set out for Monterey, with the object of going on with the founding of the two missions. When he arrived at the mission of San Luís they informed him that this one of San Francisco was already founded, and although it was contrary to his orders he let it be known that he was pleased, and that as soon as he reached Monterey he would proceed to found the other.

Arrived at Monterey and relieved of the necessary duties, he decided to go and visit the new presidio of the harbor of Our Father San Francisco. He having communicated it to the fathers of the mission of Carmelo, Father Murguía told him that either he or Father Peña would gladly accompany him to see the site of the second mission. The commander agreed to it and set out with Father Fray Tomás de la Peña, reaching this mission of Our Father San Francisco on the 26th of November, just as they were ringing for the Ave Maria, and, after stopping a short time, within the same hour he went on to the presidio. On the following day he came to the mission to inspect it more carefully. He said he was pleased with the site, and also with that of the presidio, approving what the lieutenant had carried out as well done; and when the latter informed him of the exploration which he had made of the great river in the month of September he decided to go and see it, inviting the lieutenant to accompany him.

They set out on the journey on the 29th of the same month of November and came to dine at the mission. After dinner they started, leaving Father Peña, whom Don Fernando told that he would go directly from the river to Monterey, and as soon as he arrived he would send the soldiers at Monterey belonging to San Francisco, so that the founding of Santa Clara might

be proceeded with immediately. They continued their journey by the same road that the lieutenant had taken and crossed the great river by the same ford. But, although they traveled through the plain for some distance on the other side, they did not venture to examine the other rivers, in order not to expose themselves to the contingency that the great river might rise and cut off the ford. For this reason they did not go up as far as in the preceding examination. So they set out for home and on the second day's march of the return journey a courier reached them with the news of what had happened at the mission of San Lu  s, as I shall set forth in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI

OCCURRENCE AT THE MISSION OF SAN LUÍS

On the night of November 29, of the same year of 1776, about one o'clock the sentinel saw a large blaze behind the dwelling of the fathers, and it seemed to him that the kitchen was burning.⁵⁸ He called the corporal, who, with the rest of the soldiers who had awakened, ran and surrounded the mission, which was on fire, but they did not find a single Indian, all being asleep in the village. As soon as they awakened they aided the soldiers in putting out the fire, by which means they were able to save the church and the granary; but the house was all burned, with all the utensils of house and field, which was a great loss to the mission.⁵⁹

They hurried a messenger to Monterey to inform the commander, and not finding him there they sent the letters to this presidio, where they arrived on the 7th of December. The captain had already left here, as is stated in the preceding chapter, so they set out for the great river in search of him, and met him already returning from there. As soon as he received the letters he despatched the lieutenant to this

presidio, telling him not to set a hand to the founding of Santa Clara until further notice, for he desired to go first to San Lu  s to see if it were a matter of any importance, and saying good-bye to the lieutenant he accelerated his daily marches to Monterey.

At once on reaching that presidio he set out for the mission of San Lu  s. From the steps taken by the corporal and those that he himself took it was discovered that the incendiaries were some heathen from a village about ten leagues distant from the mission. The fire was set without any other reason than to take vengeance upon other heathen who were their enemies and our friends. Since they could not do any harm to them, they went to take it out on us. In order not to be caught they resorted to the plan of firing a burning arrow, from which the whole house took fire. A great deal was lost, so that on the following day Mass could not be said for lack of wine and wax, because it was burned with everything else in the house. The captain was able to catch two of the leaders and carry them prisoners to Monterey, to which place he returned. Arriving there, without delay he despatched an order to the lieutenant of the presidio of Our Father San Francisco, telling him that he might proceed with the founding of the mission of Santa Clara.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SANTA CLARA, AND WHAT HAPPENED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOUNDATION

As soon as the lieutenant received the order from his commander, which was in the latter part of December, he notified the soldiers who were to go as escort to get ready to start with their families on the 5th of January, 1777. They did so, leaving the presidio in the afternoon of that day, and spending the night in this mission. On the following day, the 6th of the same month, the great day of the Epiphany of our Lord, they went on their way to their destination, accompanied by the father preacher Fray Tomás de la Peña, who was named missionary for that mission, together with the father preacher Fray José Murguía, who was then in Carmelo awaiting the notice in order to set out with some of the soldiers assigned to that mission who were to convoy the cattle and loads belonging to it.⁶⁰

The company of new settlers continued on its way, traveling by the beach and in sight of the bay that runs to the southeast, and on the 7th they reached the river of Nuestra Señora de

Guadalupe, which empties at the point of that arm of the sea or great bay. They halted on the bank of the river for the purpose of looking for the most suitable site for the settlement. Having found three leagues from the beach of the bay an arroyo which ran with a good stream of water along the surface of the land, from which plenty of ground could be irrigated without any trouble, they selected the site for the settlement near it and near the river, and planted the standard of the holy cross. They set to work to make an arbor to serve temporarily as a chapel, and in it Father Peña said the first Mass on the 12th of the same month of January.

Afterwards they marked out a square seventy⁶¹ varas on each side, two sides being for the church, the dwelling for the fathers and the offices of the mission, and the other two for the guardhouse, houses for nine soldiers and one settler, and a granary, on which buildings they immediately set to work. The lieutenant despatched a party to Monterey to inform Father Fray José Murguía, who, as soon as he received the news, started out with everything pertaining to his new mission, which was being held at the mission of Carmelo. He reached the mission on the 21st of the same month of January, and, leaving the buildings well under way, the lieutenant then returned to this presidio.



Mission Santa Clara.
From a nineteenth century painting.

The heathen of that vicinity showed a friendly disposition, making visits to the new settlers⁶² for interest in what was given them. But from the beginning it was observed that they were very greedy and thievish. Shortly after the founding of the mission they killed some mules belonging to the soldiers. The corporal of the guard sent word to the lieutenant of the presidio, who immediately took the road with a detachment, and before entering the mission fell upon them in their villages at daylight and found them roasting the meat of the mules they had killed. He attempted to capture them, and they hid themselves in the brush of a grove. The soldiers followed them, and seeing that they were firing arrows, they had to kill three, and with this example they stopped. They took some of the leaders to the mission and flogged them, but they continued to commit the misdemeanor of stealing, especially in the cornfields. In the month of May an epidemic attacked them of which many children died, and the fathers were able to baptize about fifty, these being the first Christians. With these baptisms the mission was started on its way.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA MOVES HIS RESIDENCE TO THE PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY

Our Catholic Monarch, God spare him, desiring that these spiritual and temporal conquests should have all the activity and ardor of his royal zeal for their advancement, being advised by his first minister of the Indies, the illustrious Señor Don José de Gálvez, who was the one who gave these establishments their beginning, decided by his royal decree that the governor of California should remove his residence from Loreto⁶⁸ in Old California to the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, so that, with his presence and the promptness with which recourse could be had to him, these new establishments might be better governed and aided. This decree having been passed by the superior government of his Excellency, it was sent to Governor Don Felipe Neve, lieutenant-colonel of the royal armies, who was at that time in the presidio of Loreto, and as soon as he received it he set out on the road to fulfill his Majesty's order, reaching the presidio of Monterey on the

3d day of February, 1777. He there received recognition and obedience from all the troops, and Captain Don Fernando Rivera retired to the presidio of Loreto, as his Excellency instructed him to do, having been appointed lieutenant-governor.

As soon as Governor Don Felipe Neve took possession of the new presidio, he passed the troops in review and formed an inventory of everything on hand, writing an order to the lieutenant of this presidio of San Francisco to do the same with what was in his care. After informing himself of everything that was there he made a report to his Excellency and asked him for what he thought was necessary. Not content with this measure, he desired personally to examine this presidio and all its fixtures, provisions and other things. With this object he set out from Monterey in the latter part of the month of April, arriving at this mission on the last day of the same month, but not wishing to stop he went on to the presidio. At the conclusion of his inspection he came to rest for a day at the mission, and from here went on to see that of Santa Clara and, having informed himself of the state of these new settlements and what they needed, he retired to Monterey to report everything to his Excellency.

CHAPTER XXIX

VOYAGE OF THE BARKS WITH THE SUPPLIES AND PROVISIONS FOR THESE NEW ESTABLISHMENTS

On the 28th of February, 1777, the packet *San Antonio*, formerly *El Príncipe*, sailed from the port of San Blas in command of Don Francisco Villaruel, pilot and frigate alférez, Father Fray Benito Sierra, of our College, going as chaplain. It arrived safely at the port of San Diego on the 4th of May and delivered the cargo of goods and provisions for that presidio, as well as the supplies for the missions of San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel. As soon as it had unloaded and delivered the cargo it returned to San Blas.

The frigate *Santiago*, alias *Nueva Galicia*, sailed from that port on the 1st day of March in command of Don Ignacio Arteaga, naval lieutenant of the royal fleet; Don Francisco Castro coming as pilot, and Father Fray José Nosedal as chaplain, and without having had any trouble in the voyage it dropped anchor in this port at two in the afternoon of the 12th of May. It brought provisions and goods for this presidio

and that of Monterey, and also supplies for these two missions of Our Father San Francisco and Santa Clara, and those of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luís, as well as a part of the provisions which had been left in San Blas the year before for want of a ship.

It unloaded what belonged to this presidio and the two missions, and sailed from this port on the 27th day of the same month of May, but soon after leaving port the wind fell and it dropped anchor in the Gulf of the Farallones, near the land, opposite the arroyo into which the lake of Nuestra Señora de la Merced empties. In the afternoon it sailed, arriving at daybreak in the port of Monterey, where it dropped anchor on the 28th. The crew immediately set to work to unload it, and on the 7th of June it departed, but as the wind failed it came back and anchored, but on the next day was able to sail for San Blas.

CHAPTER XXX

THE FOUNDING OF A SETTLEMENT OF SPANIARDS, CALLED SAN JOSÉ

From the very moment when Governor Don Felipe Neve entered Monterey he was seized with anxiety as to how to support the inhabitants of these new establishments.⁶⁴ He thought in the beginning that by increasing agriculture in the missions, if the crops were good they could assist the three presidios with the surplus. But, being informed that this could not be done at once, for as the crops increase the consumers also increase, because of the new Christians who are being secured, he agreed to found a pueblo in a good place, made up entirely of Spaniards and castes, to be employed exclusively in raising every kind of grain and crops, so that all the presidios might be provided from them, especially when barks should not come or if they should suffer some disaster.

With this project in view he asked his Excellency to send to him with the barks a sufficient number of families, the men to be laborers and accustomed to work in the fields. In the meantime, until these should come he

named nine soldiers to go with five of the citizen settlers who came from Sonora with the expedition of Señor Anza, and who were idling away their time in the presidio of San Francisco, to make a beginning of the new pueblo. Each one was given a yoke of oxen with all the tools necessary for the farm work, two cows, one mare, a horse, a mule, two sheep and two goats, but all was charged to his account, with the understanding that its value was to be paid back to the royal warehouse in grain at harvest time.

He designated as the site for the settlement the great plain of Santa Clara, near the mouth of the river of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, three quarters of a league to the southeast of the mission of Santa Clara on the side of the river which faces the east. The settlers, with their families, set out from the presidio of San Francisco on the 7th day of November, 1777, accompanied to the site by the lieutenant. Arrived there, he gave them possession in the name of his Majesty, marking out for them the plaza for the houses and distributing the house-lots among them. He measured off for each one a piece of land for planting a fanega of corn, and for beans and other vegetables. They immediately set to work to build the houses of palisades covered with clay, with flat roofs, and when these were finished each began to clear and plough his piece of ground for the planting

of corn and beans. They also proceeded to build a dam to take the water from the Guadalupe River, which is the one from which it must be drawn in ditches to irrigate the fields. God grant that the desired end may be attained, and that it may be for the greater glory of God and the advancement of Christianity.

In view of the fact that this pueblo of San José, so-named by the governor, is so near the mission that there are only three-quarters of a league between the houses, and that the last corn-field assigned in the settlement is not more than a quarter of a league from the mission, and that the fields of the mission and the settlement are only divided by that river, the governor asked the missionary fathers of Santa Clara to receive the settlers as their parishioners and administer to them the holy sacraments, and that the people of the pueblo might go to the mission to hear Mass. This was agreed upon, and the new pueblo of the Holy Patriarch Señor San José was put in running order in the manner described.

CHAPTER XXXI

VOYAGE OF THE BARKS TO THESE NEW ESTABLISHMENTS WITH A SUPPLY OF GOODS AND PROVISIONS, AND THE NEWS THAT WAS BROUGHT BY THEM

It was on the 17th of June, 1778, at half-past one in the afternoon, that the frigate *Santiago*, alias the *Nueva Galicia*, dropped anchor in this harbor. It came under command of the naval lieutenant Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, with his two pilots, Don Francisco Castro and Don Juan Baptista de Aguirre, Father Fray José Necedal, missionary of the College of San Fernando, coming as chaplain. The frigate had left the port of San Blas on the 8th of March, and had suffered no accident whatever on the voyage. It brought the supplies for this mission of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco and those for mission Santa Clara, as well as the consignments and provisions for this presidio. The cargo was unloaded and the frigate remained at anchor for forty days.

They brought the news that two other frigates were left in the port of San Blas, one called *La Princesa*, which had just been built

in that department, and the other called *La Favorita*, which had come from the kingdom of Peru in command of Don Juan de Bodega y Quadra, naval lieutenant, and Don José Cañizares,⁶⁵ pilot, with the rank of frigate alférez, who had been sent to that kingdom to buy the vessel on account of his Majesty, for the new expeditions that are being planned on the coasts of this sea to the north. They said that these ships would leave San Blas in the early part of the coming year.

They also confirmed the report which had reached us in the month of September of the preceding year, that his Majesty had named as commander-in-chief of the seven Interior Provinces,* Brigadier Don Teodoro de Croix, nephew of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix; that his command was to be entirely independent of the government of his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain; that the government of these new establishments belonged to this commander, and that from now on his Excellency would only have charge of providing the supplies, goods, and clothing for them.

Letters came from our College of San Fernando from the new guardian Fray Rafael Verger, who sent to the reverend father president of these missions, Fray Junípero Serra, the

* The seven northernmost provinces of New Spain, including California, New Mexico, and Texas.

power of confirming, which his Holiness granted to the reverend father prefect of the missions, with the authority to delegate it to any presidents or missionaries that he might judge best suited for it. In virtue of this power the reverend father president began to exercise it in his mission of San Carlos on the day of the Holy Apostles San Pedro and San Pablo, confirming not only Indians but also those white people who had not received this holy sacrament.

They also wrote from the College news which they had received from Madrid, to the effect that they were separating from the colleges and the provinces the administration of all the missions of the heathen, and that they were to be organized into four custodias, the first for New Mexico, the second for Sonora and the Pimerías, the third for the Californias and Monterey, and the fourth for Tarmaumara and Chihuahua, each one to have its own custos to govern it, these to be subordinate to an apostolic commissary as superior-general. They added that the reverend Father Fray Antonio Reyes, who was in Madrid, having returned from the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, already had the order from his Majesty to collect fifteen friars in those provinces in order to come with them and make a beginning of the first custodia. Time will prove what truth there may be in these reports and what effect these projects may have. If it goes

into effect in my day I will set it down in these pages.*

The frigate remained at anchor in the harbor of San Francisco until the 27th of July, when it sailed for the harbor of Monterey, where it dropped anchor on the 31st of the same month and discharged the consignment of goods and provisions which it was taking to the presidio and the supplies for the three missions. It remained anchored in that port until the 25th of August, when its commander decided to sail for the port of San Diego to take shelter until the passage of the equinox.

The reverend father president, having learned of this decision, did not wish to lose the opportunity to embark in it for the purpose of visiting that mission and all the rest, returning by land and confirming the new Christians in the missions. With this in view he embarked at Monterey on the 24th of August, but, although the frigate set sail on the following day, the contrary winds did not permit it to go out, and it remained inside the bay tacking to windward until the 6th of September, when it succeeded in passing Point of Pines, and after a fortunate voyage dropped anchor in the port of San Diego on the 15th of the same month.

* Serra and Palóu were both greatly worried over the plan for a custodia.

At the same time as the frigate left San Blas for those ports, the packet *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, sailed for San Diego with the consignment of goods and provisions for that presidio, and with the supplies for those three missions,* under command of Don José Camacho, pilot of the royal fleet. Don Estevan Martínez went as second pilot, and as chaplain an Observant friar of the province of Xalisco, because of the death in San Blas of the Father Fray Benito Sierra, missionary of our College of San Fernando. He had made three voyages with the barks, and His Divine Majesty wished to take him in order to give him his reward in heaven, for I picusly believe that he is at peace with God. Having had good fortune on the voyage, the *San Antonio* arrived in perfect safety on the 16th of May. Making haste with the unloading, it sailed from San Diego for San Blas early in June, and the frigate left that port in the middle of October, the reverend father president remaining in San Diego to confirm the neophytes of that mission.

* That is, the three southernmost missions, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel.

CHAPTER XXXII

VOYAGE OF THE FRIGATE *SANTIAGO* TO THESE ESTABLISHMENTS WITH THE SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS AND CONSIGNMENTS FOR THE PRESIDIOS AND MISSIONS

On the 26th day of June, 1779, the frigate *Santiago*, alias *Nueva Galicia*, dropped anchor in this port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, in command of Don Estevan Martínez, first pilot, bringing as second pilot Don José Tobár, and as chaplain Don Nicolás Loera, cleric of the diocese of Guadalaxara, on account of the death of the father preacher Fray José Nosedal, missionary of our College, who had come on the vessel in former years. He died a few days after reaching Tepic in the voyage of the previous year, and was buried in the hospice of Santa Cruz. *Cujus anima requiescat in pace.*

The frigate brought the supplies for all three presidios,⁶⁶ with orders to drop in at the three ports, as no other bark was able to come to San Diego as they had done before, because of the lack of seamen in the department of San Blas, on account of the departure in the month of February of two frigates on an expedition to the upper latitudes of the coasts of this sea, with the

understanding that on their return they would enter to take on fresh provisions in one of these ports.

Immediately after the arrival of the frigate its captain set to work to unload what belonged to this presidio and the two⁸⁷ missions, but although it was quickly done the departure of the frigate was delayed by several mishaps which occurred, and it did not leave until the 26th day of July. It was in evident danger of being wrecked, not only at the start, when it struck the steep cliff of the opposite coast with the point of the bowsprit, but also in the little bay outside of the harbor, in which it dropped anchor, for, the stream cable having clipped under the keep, it was about to turn the ship over. They attributed the escape from both perils to a miracle of Nuestra Señora. It got into a third danger at Point Año Nuevo, for while they were anchored the rudder struck heavily on the rocks several times. But, freed from all these dangers they arrived safely at Monterey, giving thanks to God and His Immaculate Mother with a High Mass in the mission of San Carlos de Monterey.

They went to work immediately to unload what belonged to that presidio and the three missions, and when that was done they went on to San Diego to do the same there, remaining there until after the passing of the equinox, and sailing in the middle of October for San Blas.

CHAPTER XXXIII

MARITIME EXPEDITION TO THE COASTS OF THIS PACIFIC OCEAN AS FAR AS SIXTY DEGREES NORTH LATITUDE

On the 12th day of February, 1779, two of his Majesty's frigates sailed from the port of San Blas. The one named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, alias *La Princesa*, went as flagship. The other named *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, alias *La Favorita*, was constructed in Peru, purchased there, and brought for this expedition.⁶⁸

The flagship sailed in command of Don Ignacio Arteaga, naval lieutenant of the royal fleet and commander-in-chief of the expedition. It took as second in command Don Fernando Quiros, also naval lieutenant of the royal fleet; as pilots Don José Camacho, first pilot of the royal fleet, and as second pilot Don Juan Pantoja y Arriaga; and as chaplains the father preachers Fray Juan García Riobóo and Fray Matías de Santa Catalina Noriega, both missionaries of our College of San Fernando de Mexico.

The second frigate sailed in command of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, naval lieutenant of the royal fleet. As pilots went Don

Francisco Maurelli and Don José Cañizares, both with the rank of frigate alférez; as third pilot went Don Juan Baptista Aguirre, and as chaplain Don Christóbal Díaz, who came from Lima as chaplain of this frigate. The vessels sailed well provided with food and everything else necessary for more than a year, both carrying their detachments of soldiers, surgeons, bloodletters, etc. They started in convoy, with orders not to separate from each other except in case of necessity, and in such a case they agreed to meet in the harbor of Bucareli, which is in fifty-five degrees latitude.

They set sail on the day mentioned above, and without the least accident dropped anchor in the harbor of Bucareli on the 3d of May, where they remained to explore and map it⁶⁹ until the 1st of July. They had time for this, and they found that inside that harbor were enclosed thirteen harbors, all good, safe, and each capable of accommodating a fleet. It looked to them like a Mediterranean Sea, or a great archipelago, on account of the many islands found in it, and they even thought it might be the Western Sea which the ancients depicted.

The natives of that harbor are very distrustful and warlike. But, nevertheless, they did not fail to come with their canoes, of which they have many good ones, among these being some very large ones which measure more than eleven

varas on the keel. With our men they traded their mats, of which they make very fine ones of the bark of trees, wooden trays, and other trifles, in exchange for beads and especially for pieces of iron, for which it was evident that they had a great liking, particularly for large pieces not worked up. For this reason, and seeing among them several articles of copper and iron shaped like lances, etc., our people suspected that they had an art and means of working iron and copper. The men go covered to the knees with skins of animals, presenting themselves modestly, and still more so the females, even to infants at the breast. The women have their lower lips pierced and a small piece of wood hanging from them, which makes them very ugly.

The Indians use as offensive arms, arrows as well as lances, with very long shafts, some of them being six varas in length. I saw one as long as this among those brought by our people. It had a long point of iron, arranged in such a manner that when grasped in the hand it served as a dagger. Others have the points made of copper, shaped and sharpened. For defensive arms they have suits of mail like the Spaniards, with breast-plate, shoulder-piece, and helmet, etc., all made of wood. The helmet is usually made to look like the head of a ferocious animal, shaped and painted in a very life-like way, so

that it causes horror, the mouth of the animal serving as a visor. I saw one like this among those brought by our people.

They succeeded in buying five little heathen, three boys and two girls, three of whom were baptized in this mission, while the two larger ones were taken to San Blas to be baptized there, for as they were now ten years old and did not know the language well, they needed instruction, which was not necessary for the three who were baptized in this mission, as they were infants.

Because two sailors had deserted from the flagship and gone with the heathen on shore, it happened that those poor people, who had not given any reason for it, had to experience the clamor and force of arms of our people. For, as the commander desired to secure the deserters, he conceived the idea of catching some of the heathen and keeping them confined as hostages until an exchange could be made. One morning some of the many canoes that were near the two frigates, having approached the flagship, the captain ordered that one of them should be seized and held, but when the attempt was made they understood it and made an effort to escape. With the object of frightening them he ordered a cannon fired without ball, which terrified them so much that they drew off to take flight. Those on the frigate who heard the shot and saw the movement of the canoes, thought that the

heathen had gone to attack the flagship, and they immediately opened fire, with the result that some of the canoes were overturned, and it is believed that some of them must have been killed from the balls or by drowning, for the canoes were full of people of both sexes and all ages. Some of them were picked up by the launches, and through them the principal end of securing the deserters was accomplished. The Indians were pacified, and during the long stay there no further trouble occurred. During the rest of the time they were employed in the exploration and in drawing plans for the maps.

On the 1st of July they left the harbor to go up to a higher latitude, and they accomplished it without meeting with any adventures whatever except some heavy winds. These gave them some trouble, especially on the 1st of August, when they found themselves in latitude sixty degrees and some minutes, but they succeeded in finding a large bay, which they called Nuestra Señora de la Regla, where they dropped anchor on the 2d of August. While they were in this bay the commander ordered that an exploration of the coast should be made with the launches, as was done, but they observed that they were now dropping down to a lower latitude, so rapidly that some of them judged that the highest point was little more than sixty degrees, and that afterwards the shore turned toward the south.

Others were of the opinion that it might be a long point of land that inclined to the south, and that after this was passed the coast ran again to the north. On account of this suspicion some of the officers desired to continue the exploration, even though latitude should be lost, believing that they might perhaps find the desired and long-looked-for passage thought to be thereabout, if there is such a thing, for they had in sight the mountain of San Elias and the volcano which the Russians tell about.*

Their desire to make the exploration was made keener by a visit to the frigate by one of the canoes of those natives. One of the Indians who climbed aboard the frigate was a heavily bearded man, different from the others in aspect, countenance and carriage. He was very observing, but showed no surprise at all while he was on the frigate among our people. Being asked by signs if he had seen barks as large as that one before, he replied that he had, and, pointing to a high mountain range which was in sight, he gave it to be understood that they were behind them. The range lay to the west, and for that reason some suspected that he might be a disguised Russian who was sent to learn about us. Notwithstanding what has been said, they followed the coast a little farther, still losing latitude.

* The reference is to the Strait of Anian, or Northern Passage, sought since Columbus's day.

At fifty-nine degrees and a few minutes they found a fine harbor which they named for Santiago the Apostle, patron saint of the Spains, of which they took formal¹⁰ possession in the name of his Majesty, leaving planted there the standard of the holy cross. They say it is a large harbor, with all the advantages that can be desired, and very spacious and well sheltered from winds. They have at hand water, firewood, ballast, and large quantities of fish which are easily caught, as they proved by experience in the short time that they were anchored there. Possession was taken with High Mass, a sermon, and the rest of the usual ceremonies.

They made an attempt to explore with the launch an arm of the sea which penetrates the land deeply towards the north. They accomplished something, but did not venture to go in very far because they saw two very large canoes approaching the launch, each carrying a greater number of men than ours. Although they appeared to be friendly, and when they drew near the launch both canoes traded fish and other little things in exchange for beads and other trifles with our people, nevertheless they did not venture to continue the exploration for fear something might happen further inland. So, as soon as the canoes started on their way our people returned to the frigates, to report what they had seen; but instead of being encouraged by this information to continue the exploration

and ascertain if it really were the passage or strait, the commanders resolved to return and consider the expedition finished, giving orders to the pilots to sail in the open sea as far as the latitude of Cape Mendocino. They did so, that cape being the first land they made out after leaving the harbor of Santiago.

The commander had decided not to stop at this harbor* nor at Monterey but to go on to San Diego. The captain of the *Favorita* regretted this very much, because he was bringing a sacred image of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios for the church of this mission, and desired to deliver it in person and see it installed, and it was the pleasure of the great Lady to see that his desires should be fulfilled to the highest degree.

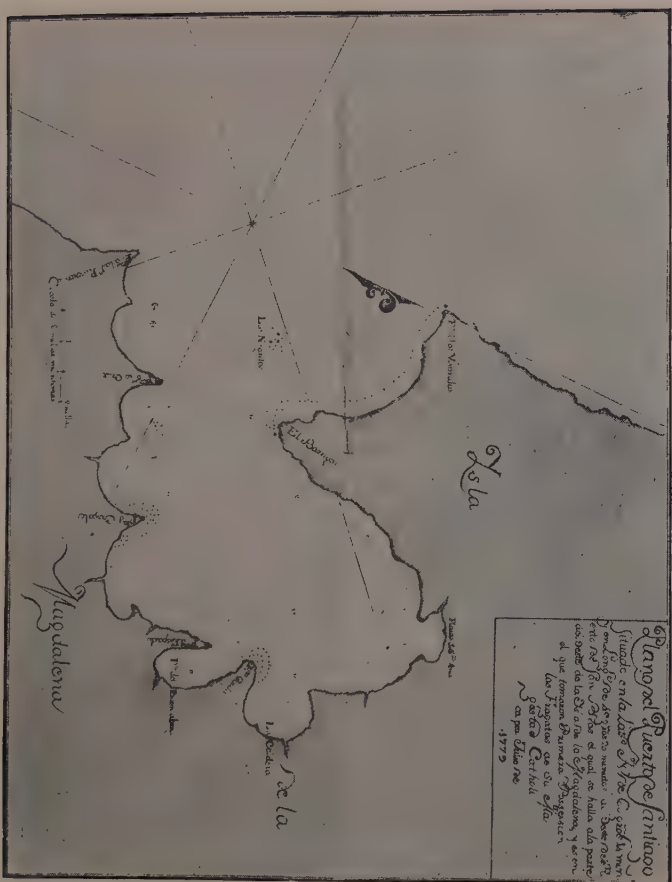
The way of it was that no sooner did they descry the land at Cape Mendocino than they fell into a calm which lasted ten days, and the currents drove them apart, so that when they came out of the calm the frigates could not find each other. Then a wind came up and in a short time the *Favorita* was in sight of this harbor. Thinking the flagship might have entered, the captain went in, intending if he did not find it anchored there to leave the image of Nuestra Señora at the mission and go on to San Diego. It dropped anchor on the 14th of September in the afternoon and on the morning of the 15th the flagship entered.

* San Francisco.

After they were both anchored the commander decided, to the joy of all the people, to make a stop in this port for the purpose of curing the sick, for there were many touched with the scurvy, and also to work on the maps and to make a fair copy of the diaries. In consequence of this delay it was possible to celebrate with all ceremony the installation of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. They carried her in procession on a frame which they made for the purpose, and placed her on the main altar after a solemn ceremony, in which all the men, the officers as well as the crews, took part, only the most necessary being left to guard the ships.

After Our Lady had been installed, the solemn function of the Feast of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was celebrated on October the 3d, first Sunday in the month, in which Mass was sung by three fathers, with a sermon and many salutes, to the great pleasure of everybody; and on the following day, the feast of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, patron of the port, presidio, and mission, was celebrated with the same solemn ceremony of Mass, sermon, procession, and salutes, in the presence of all the people, of the sea as well as of the presidio.

Although the reverend father president was invited to these functions, he could not be present on account of the governor's notions, but after these were placated he succeeded in



The Atreaga Map of Puerto de Santiago, 1779.
 Archivo General de Indias.

obtaining the necessary escort and came to this mission on the 15th of the same month, escorted by the two lieutenants, Don Fernando Quiros and Don Juan de la Quadra. They were sent by the commander for that purpose with orders to go to Monterey, and I accompanied them. But it was not necessary to go beyond Santa Clara, for just as the reverend father president arrived at that mission we also reached there. After resting two days we came to this mission on the 15th, and Father Serra remained here until after the departure of the frigates.

In that time he made four confirmations, confirming one hundred and eighty-nine persons, including Indians of the mission and white people, of the presidio as well as of the frigates, who had not been confirmed. The sick improved, the pilots worked on their diaries and maps, and the commander and officers remained at the mission contented and happy, resting from their voyage.

A few days after the arrival of the reverend father president a messenger came from Monterey with the news that the China ship* had entered the bay, but that it could not anchor on account of a contrary wind. It sent the small boat to Carmelo, where it received on the beach a calf and a sack of vegetables as temporary relief, which were carried to the ship by the sailors, and

* The Manila galleon.

the land officer went to the presidio, where he found those of the launch. The governor gave them a leather-jacket soldier who had been a sailor and was experienced, as they asked, and he gave them a bull for the present, and the key of the house at the landing place. Supposing they would be able to anchor that day, the launch went to the ship, which was then inside, but no sooner had all the people gone aboard and the ship yawed to come farther in, than the launch was upset and lost, and a contrary wind arose which compelled them to go out without anchoring, consequently the ship went on to Cape San Lucas, carrying with it the experienced sailor, whom they left at that cape, where they took on fresh provisions and continued to Acapulco.

Shortly after the arrival of the messenger spoken of, another came with the sad news of the death of his Excellency the Viceroy, Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli, and of the declaration of war with England,* which the governing Audiencia communicated in order that necessary precautions might be taken. This news caused the commander and maritime officers to change their plans, and so they decided to depart as soon as possible, which they did on the 30th of October. On one of the frigates my father companion, Fray Pedro Benito Cambón, went

* It was in this war that Spain aided the Thirteen English Colonies to become independent.

away ill, and the father preacher Fray Matías Noriega, who had come as second chaplain of the flagship, remained in his place. After the departure of the frigates the reverend father president remained some days longer to perform the last confirmations on the day of San Carlos, the 4th of November, and on the 6th he left for Santa Clara, where he also performed confirmations and then returned to his mission of San Carlos.

CHAPTER XXXIV

VARIOUS THINGS THAT HAPPENED AS A RESULT OF THE WARS

The two frigates of the exploring expedition having arrived safely on the 21st of November, they were told the news that the two packets, the *San Carlos*, and *El Principe*, had sailed from the port of San Blas for the Philippine Islands to give notice of the wars and take assistance in money. The first went in command of the naval lieutenant Don Juan de Ayala, taking as chaplain the father preacher Fray Pablo Font, missionary of our College, and the second, which sailed much later with the same object, in command of naval lieutenant Don Diego Choquet, the chaplain being Father Fray José Peña, of the province of Xalisco. The two barks carried between them more than three hundred thousand pesos. They arrived safely at Manila and gave news of the war, so that they might be prepared, and that what had happened in the last wars might not occur again.*

My father companion, Fray Pedro Cambón, who, I said, went away ill on one of the frigates of the expedition, arrived very sick at San Blas.

* The allusion is to the capture of Manila by the English in 1762.

and although he took medical treatment he grew so much worse that he was soon in a serious condition. But it was the will of His Divine Majesty that he should recuperate, and as soon as he was well he decided to return to the "mission." His vining was facilitated by accepting the position of chaplain on the frigate which was to come with the provisions and ordonnances. In order not to come with empty hands and to have something to give his Indian neophytes of this mission, he used all the alms given him by the Majesty in the time when he served as chaplain on the return of the frigate, and that from some masses which he had celebrated in the purchase of one hundred bushels of corn and two heads of potatoes, which he shipped on the frigate *San Diego*, which was being loaded for the voyage to these establishments.

But God disposed in His great wisdom that an order should come to San Blas from his Excellency, the temporary viceroy, Don Martin de Mayorga, requiring the frigate *Princesa*, manned as it was to go in charge of the commander and captain of the frigate, Don Bruno Echea, to the port of Acapulco and from there to the Philippines, to convey the galleon and carry provisions for the troops, and funds for the exigencies of war. For this reason, and because there was no other chaplain ready to

* San Francisco.

go on that long voyage, Father Cambón went, trusting in God, who was pleased to give him a fortunate voyage, and hoping in the Lord that it would be for the good of the mission, as it did in fact turn out and as will be related in its proper place. But before leaving San Blas he wrote to me, telling me this news and sending me by the frigate *Santiago* the hundred bushels of corn mentioned above, and some other little things, although they were slow in coming on account of the delay in the departure of the frigate from San Blas.

CHAPTER XXXV

ARRIVAL OF THE FRIGATE IN THE YEAR 1780, AND SOME EVENTS WHICH RESULTED FROM THE WARS

The distraction in other affairs, which I noted in the preceding chapter, resulting from the wars, was the reason for the delay of the departure of the bark to succor these new establishments, and consequently for its still more tardy arrival, for, indeed, the departure did not take place till June,⁷¹ and the arrival (not at this port, for it did not enter here, but at Monterey) was not till the 7th of October, of this year of 1780. On that day the frigate *Santiago*, alias the *Nueva Galicia*, dropped anchor in the harbor of Monterey. It was in command of Don Estevan Martínez, first pilot, his second being Don José Tobár. The captain was Don Miguel Dávalos, cleric of the bishopric of Guadalaxara.

The provisions and consignments that it was bringing for this presidio and that of Monterey, and the consignments for the corresponding missions, were unloaded, and from Monterey the vessel went on to the port of San Diego to leave the rest of the cargo. Since there came on that

bark for us of this mission not only the consignment from Mexico, but also the hundred bushels of corn, panocha, and other little things which, as I said Fray Pedro Cambón sent, we regretted very much that the bark did not enter this harbor, for the cargo was transported with a great deal of trouble and some delay. But it was a still heavier trouble for those of this presidio, for it was not until a year after the coming of the bark that they finished transporting the last of the cargo.

But although this caused some trouble it was not so severe as that of the following year of 1781, when the consignment did not come either late or early, because of the interference of the war. For, after having discharged its cargo at San Diego and arrived at San Blas in the month of January, 1781, the frigate was destined to go to Lima to bring quicksilver, because of the scarcity of it in New Spain, as none had come from Spain on account of the war.

The frigate *Favorita* was in San Blas, and also a packet named *San Juan Nepomuceno*, which was brought from the Philippines by Don Juan Manual de Ayala, and which he left at San Blas because it was too small. They were loaded in June with the provisions and consignments for that year of 1781 for the presidios and missions, but just as they were about to leave the port it was closed. Both ships discharged

their cargoes, and they were found to be rotten and unfit to make a voyage, for which reason the supplies were not sent that year, being the cause of great hardships and setbacks to the conquest.

My companion Fray Matías Noriega, who was at Santa Clara in August, taking advantage of the coming at that time of the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz from the mission of San Carlos to Santa Clara, to celebrate the feast of the patroness, decided to go to Monterey, which he had not yet seen. Having arrived there and rested some days, he was invited by the reverend father president to go with him to the mission of San Antonio to confirm the neophytes, as he did, returning to Monterey in the early part of October. The feast of Our Seraphic Father having been celebrated, the reverend father president decided to come and do the same in these two missions, inviting to accompany him the reverend father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, missionary at San Carlos, who was desirous of visiting these two missions, which he had not yet seen. In the meantime Father Fray Matías remained at Monterey.

The reverend father president arrived at this mission, accompanied by Father Crespi, on the 28th of October, and remained here until the 9th of November, during which time he confirmed sixty-nine persons. I had the happiness of seeing my dear fellow disciple, Father Fray

Juan Crespi, and it seems that he came to bid me farewell. For, having returned with the reverend father president to his mission of San Carlos, after the latter had celebrated confirmations in the mission of Santa Clara, a few days after reaching his mission of Carmelo Father Crespi fell seriously ill and died. God was pleased to take him to himself on the first day of the year 1782, at the age of sixty⁷² years and ten months, after he had labored thirty years in the missions of the heathen; that is to say, sixteen years in the missions of the Sierra among the Pames Indians, one year in Old California in the mission of Purísima Concepción, and the rest of the time in this New California.

He was the first missionary to tread its soil, for he started in the year 1769 from the mission of Purísima with the first division of the land expedition which discovered the harbor of San Diego. He continued afterward with the expedition by land until it discovered this harbor of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, whence he returned with the expedition to San Diego.* Shortly after his arrival there he set out again with the expedition in search of Monterey, and having found the harbor he took part in the founding of the presidio and mission of San Carlos in company with the reverend father president. In the second year after the founding

* See Crespi's diary of this journey, Volume II, 42-260.

of that mission he set out with Commander Don Pedro Fages to explore this harbor, in which expedition were discovered the great river or rivers which flow into this harbor, through whose outlet they descend to the sea. While they were engaged in this exploration they had to turn back, as is related in his diary.* After returning to Monterey, having traveled one hundred and forty leagues, he was sent by the reverend father president to San Diego to prevent the abandonment of that port, threatened on account of the lack of provisions, which was relieved by the supplies sent by the commander with that father.†

Shortly before the end of the year he again went up to Monterey, and in the year 1774 he embarked with Captain Don Juan Pérez in the frigate Santiago on the first expedition to the high latitudes of the coasts of this sea.‡ After his return he remained in the mission of San Carlos until God took him away to reward him for all these labors from which he had suffered in so many journeys by sea and land, and I do not doubt he will have great glory in heaven, for they were all directed to these spiritual conquests. Besides being a very exemplary and humble friar, for I knew him since he was a boy, as we were reared together and studied together

* See his diary of this exploration, Volume II, 329-354.

† See Volume II, 356-357.

‡ See his diary of this expedition, Volume III, 147-206.

from the very first rudiments until we finished theology, he was highly regarded among all his fellow pupils for his mystic and perfect religion. For this reason I have no doubt that he is enjoying God, and that he will pray to Him for the conversion of all these heathen, for which end he labored so much.

On account of the death of that father, Fray Matías Noriega remained in Monterey, there being greater need for three there than in this mission, and I was left with the father preacher Fray Vicente Santa María, no supernumeraries being left except one missionary at the mission of San Carlos.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ARRIVAL OF A PHILIPPINE BARK AT THE PORT OF SAN DIEGO, AND THE NEWS BROUGHT BY IT

On the 9th of December, 1781, one of his Majesty's packets named *San Carlos el Filipino* entered the harbor of San Diego. It was built at Manila and was sent by the *San Carlos* of San Blas, which I have already said went to take the news of the war, and being too small to return, this one called the *Filipino* was constructed to replace the other, which remained in the Philippines. Captain Don Juan González came in command of it, and my father companion, Fray Pedro Cambón, who went with the *Princesa*, came as chaplain. This father arrived at San Diego ill, and he decided to remain there in view of the fact that a Barefoot Father who came in the same bark as passenger accepted and took charge of the chaplaincy and went to San Blas with the packet, which sailed from the port of San Diego in the month of December. Father Cambón remained in the mission, whence he wrote some news that we lacked, as no bark had come from San Blas this year.

This news was that we had as guardian in the College the reverend father lecturer, Fray Francisco Pangua, and that six friars, preachers of the College, were named to come for the founding of the three missions on the channel of Santa Bárbara. He also told me that during the year that he was detained in Manila he had obtained from the governor of those islands not only the pay for the time he had served as chaplain from the departure from San Blas, but also for some months in advance, and that he had used it in the purchase of a great consignment of vestments, wax, and other special things for the church and sacristy of this mission, and also of ordinary stuffs to clothe the Indians of this mission, and that all was coming in the packet; but as everything came under the register of San Blas, nothing could be unloaded, but he hoped the commissary of San Blas would send it on the first bark that came. This in fact happened, and it arrived at this mission sooner than Father Fray Pedro, who was detained, as I shall say later.

CHAPTER XXXVII

DISASTROUS EVENT ON THE COLORADO RIVER

Ever since a road had been opened by the way of the Colorado River by Captain Don Juan Baptista de Anza through the two expeditions which I have already narrated, establishing communication between this province and those of Sonora, the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro had felt a lively desire to found missions on the banks of that river, having been informed by Señor Anza how very important it was, but that it should be borne in mind that the river was inhabited by large numbers of intelligent and bold Indians, making a good presidio with sufficient troops necessary.⁷⁸

This desire was not fulfilled until the new commander-general, the Caballero de Croix, assumed the government of the Interior Provinces, independently of the viceroyalty of New Spain. With the consent of the Court he took measures for the founding of the missions without any presidio, but providing that at each mission ten soldiers should be placed with ten citizen settlers to work the land in conjunction with the Indians who might be converted, and

that the fathers were not to have a hand in anything but spiritual affairs—a new method of conquest! The missionary fathers, in their intense desire to convert those heathen, agreed to it, but it was impossible, and things became worse than before.

Some persons were baptized in the two missions which were founded on this bank of the river, entitled Purísima Concepción, and San Pedro y San Pablo, but they apostatized in a short time, since the friars were without the funds necessary in order to have something to give to the converted Indians, and those who lived in the town within sound of the bell soon experienced want, the fathers as well as the settlers. Thus they were compelled to have recourse to the mission of San Gabriel, by sending a party with clothing and money to exchange for provisions and cattle for their maintenance, with the statement that if they did not send them that succor they would be compelled to abandon the post, for relief could not come to them from Sonora, on account of the distance and the miserable state of that province.

The ministers of the mission of San Gabriel sent to them by the same soldiers what they wanted of whatever they had, accepting in exchange only clothing to cover the nakedness of the Indians, and the party returned with the supplies and also the money which they had

brought. But it did them little good, for a few days afterward the Yuma Indians of both missions rose up and killed the *alférez* in command, and the sergeant, soldiers, and citizens, except a few who were able to conceal themselves. And they cruelly martyred the four missionary fathers, Fray Francisco Garcés and Fray Juan Bereneche of one mission, and the fathers Fray Juan Díaz and Fray Matías Moreno, ministers of the other. They set fire to the missions, burning nearly everything. They spared the women and children, but only here and there was a man left alive by the Indians.*

The news of this occurrence soon reached the mission of San Gabriel, where Governor Don Felipe Neve happened to be, for the reason that I mentioned in the preceding chapter. An *alférez* of Sonora named Limón, who had come with nine soldiers to escort the people recruited by Captain Don Fernando Rivera in the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, of whom I shall speak later, having concluded his mission and delivered the families and soldiers at San Gabriel, returned to his presidio over the same road by which he had come, by way of the Colorado River. One day's march before reaching that river he was told by a heathen what had happened, but in order to make sure of it he went ahead, reaching the river with only seven men, two who were driving some cattle

* The uprising was on July 17, 1781.

having remained somewhat behind. When he got near the river he saw it was true, for he found nothing but the ruins and the bodies of the dead people.

As soon as the Yumas saw them they fell upon them, but the bravery of the alférez and the seven men accompanying him saved them, for, fighting valorously and falling back on the road toward San Gabriel, they were able to escape without any mishap but the wounding by an arrow of one of the soldiers, son of the alférez, but it was not serious. As soon as he saw himself free of the cruelty and the great numbers of the Indians, he went to look for the soldiers⁷⁴ who had remained behind with the cattle, but he found them already dead, and the cattle also. He therefore retreated to San Gabriel to report everything to the governor, telling him all that has been related, and that he did not doubt that they had also killed Don Fernando Rivera and the soldiers he had with him, for he had seen one of the Yuma Indian chiefs wearing the clothing of the captain.

The alférez asked the governor for twenty men, saying he would go and chastise the Yumas and avenge the death of our people, but the governor considered it a foolish notion, and despatched him to his presidio on the Sonora coast with the soldiers they had left him. Going by way of Old California, they embarked at Loreto.

The governor did nothing whatever except to remain at San Gabriel, on the lookout in case the Yumas should show themselves there, but the commander-general did not act this way. The news reached his Lordship by one of those who managed to escape and reach a town in Sonora, and was confirmed by another who was sent by one of the chiefs, who, being fearful of the results, despatched him to report it and say that he was not guilty. The commander-general at once and without delay ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages,* captain of the volunteers, to get ready with some of the soldiers of his company, and Don Pedro Tueros to be ready with leather-jacket soldiers to go to the Colorado River, charging Don Pedro Fages, who was commander of the expedition, to endeavor to ransom all the captives in exchange for clothing, etc., and to make every effort possible to secure the leaders.

While this expedition was getting ready the commander-general sent information of it to the governor of this province, so that he might prepare himself with as many men as possible to go to the Colorado River and join the others in an attack on the Indians on both sides of the river. The news reached the governor by way of Old California, and he collected in San

* The commander-general was Croix. At this time Fages was serving in Sonora.

Gabriel a good number of troops and provided all the food necessary for the time appointed. He then waited for advices from the Colorado, for which purpose he had sent a detachment in advance, to post themselves in a spot where they could descry the messengers, so that the word might reach him quickly, but it was delayed, for the reason that I am going to relate.

Commander Don Pedro Fages, having reached the Colorado with his expedition, took steps to recover the captives, and succeeded in getting them all but one or two women neophytes who did not wish to leave the country. He gathered up the remains of the four missionaries, finding the first two together, buried and entire, for according to the statement of the captives, they had been interred by an old Indian woman who was much attached to the fathers. He also found dead Captain Don Fernando Rivera, Sergeant Juan José Robles, and the soldiers whom the captain had with him. He ordered all the dead buried except the four fathers, whom he placed in some boxes and carried with him, delivering them at the first mission. He then returned a second time to the Colorado River, to finish collecting the captives and to make an effort to secure the leaders, all of which he succeeded in doing except catching the leaders.

In the two expeditions that were made for this purpose our people suffered no fatalities, but many Yuma Indians died in one or two skirmishes that took place, and, becoming panic-stricken, the rest concealed themselves in the thickets along the river, from which it was impossible to drive them.

In the legal declarations made by the ransomed persons they made some noteworthy statements, the principal one being that after the death of the missionary fathers and the destruction of the missions, every night there was seen walking around the mission a procession of persons dressed in white and carrying lighted candles in their hands, with a cross and candlesticks, and giving a turn around the site of the mission. This lasted a long time, and frightened the Yuma Indians so much that they abandoned the country and moved some leagues farther down toward the mouth of the river. This declaration was communicated to me by Commander Fages himself, who told me that he sent an official report of it to the reverend father president of the missions of the College of Querétaro. He told me many other edifying things which I omit, for they probably now have them in the College authenticated and from a better pen than mine.

These measures and expeditions having been brought to a conclusion by Don Pedro⁷⁵ Fages, leaving the greater part of the troops on the Colorado River he went to carry out his orders to go to San Gabriel and meet Governor Don Felipe Neve, so that, taking the troops that he might have ready, they might go together on a third expedition to the Colorado River, postponing any other undertaking he might have in hand. Señor Fages did this, and with a division of soldiers set out for San Gabriel. What happened I shall relate farther on.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN BUENA- VENTURA AND THE PRESIDIO OF SANTA BARBARA ON THE CHANNEL

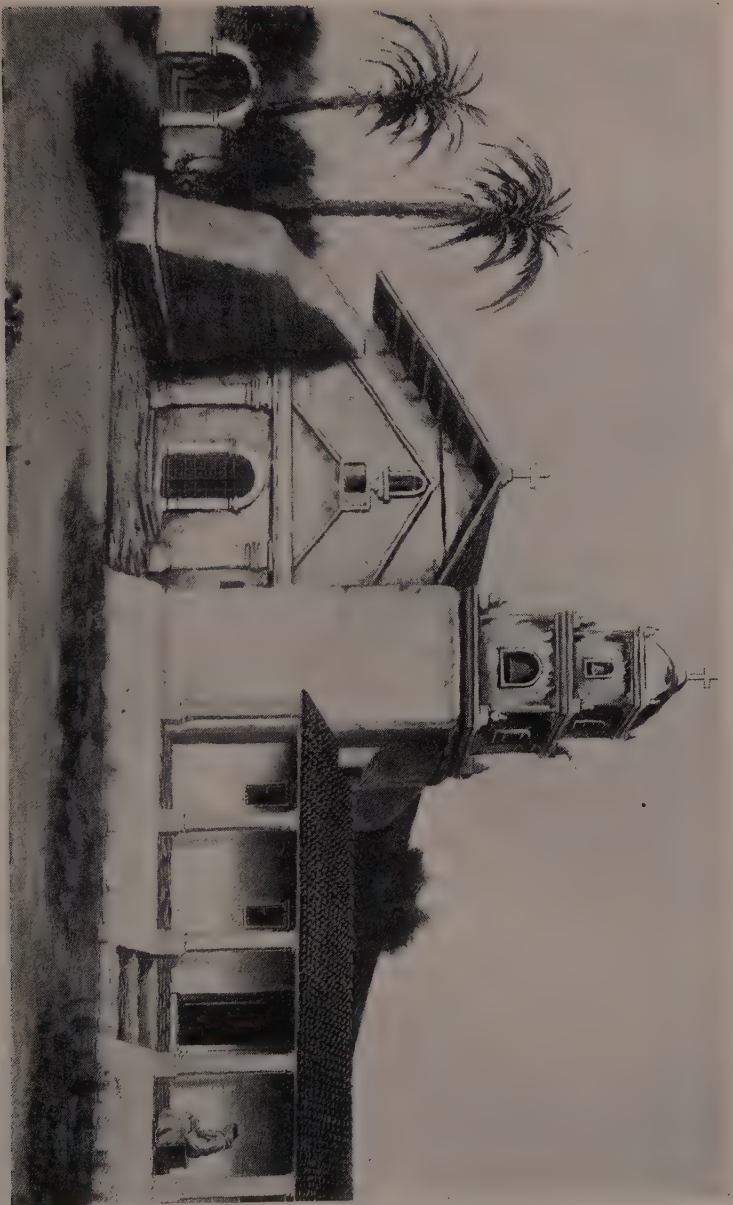
With the same ardor with which the fathers of the College of Santa Cruz sought the reduction of the heathen on the Colorado River, those of the College of San Fernando solicited the conversion of the heathen on the Santa Bárbara Channel, a very necessary step for the indispensable communication between the missions of the south and those of the north, and with the presidio of Monterey. The reverend father president of these missions, Fray Junípero Serra, constantly repeated his supplications to this end to his Excellency, and the Most Excellent Señor Bucareli, may he rest in peace, always encouraged his hopes.⁷⁸

When this step was on the point of being taken it was postponed by the news of the division of governments between the viceroyalty and the commandancy-general. But the new commander-general, the Caballero de Croix, having been informed of this important matter, even before he reached his capital, sent an order to the

governor of this province to send Captain Don Fernando Rivera to him to recruit troops and settlers for the pueblo and for the reduction of the channel of Santa Bárbara. This he did, the captain mentioned going to the mainland to receive the orders of his Lordship.

When the governor learned that the people were being recruited, thinking they would come immediately, he went to San Gabriel to await them and make preparations for them, and the commander wrote to his Excellency asking for six missionaries for the three missions of San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Purísima Concepción. His Excellency requested them from our College of San Fernando, which immediately named them, so that they might come on the barks which were to sail from San Blas in March, 1782. This news did not reach here until the arrival of Father Cambón, who received a letter from the College telling about it while he was in the Philippines.

As soon as Captain Rivera brought the recruits, who numbered thirty soldiers for the presidio, fifteen for each of the three missions, most of them married, and some more families for settlers of a pueblo that it was intended to found, he began to send the recruits from the mainland by ship to Loreto, that they might go up in launches to the bay of San Luís, and from there by land to the channel of Santa Bárbara.



Mission San Buenaventura.

From a nineteenth century painting.

A lieutenant and an alférez were to come with them, and other officers were to come with the rest of the troops by land across the Colorado River with the horses and mules, which numbered no less than a thousand head, for the troops as well as to equip the others in these presidios already founded, which lacked them.

The people who came up by way of Old California arrived first, and as soon as part of them reached that place work was begun with a few families in founding the projected town of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles on the banks of the river named Porciúncula, distant from the mission of San Gabriel about three leagues, on the road to the channel. The rest of the troops were detained until the other party arrived at the mission of San Gabriel—the one that came by way of the Colorado River. It came in command of Captain Don Fernando with two subaltern officers, who were to be divided between the presidios, so that at each presidio there might be a lieutenant and an alférez.

Don Fernando Rivera arrived at the river with the rest of the troops, and with all the horses and mules, which were in bad condition and very lame, and so that they might not die in the stretch between the Colorado River and San Gabriel he decided to stop there with those that were not fit to travel. Retaining a certain number of men to guard them, he despatched the

rest with the troops to San Gabriel, escorted by Alférez Limón. But so that Rivera might come in greater safety, the governor sent Sergeant Juan José Robles with some five men from the troops of San Diego and Monterey, who joined Don Fernando, and all perished with him in the uprising on the Colorado River. At the same time the horses and mules perished, which was a heavy loss for the new establishments of this New California, since it greatly delayed the news from the Colorado River, which for a long time the governor awaited from day to day at the mission of San Gabriel. He finally decided to proceed with the settlements on the channel, and with this object he wrote in the latter part of February of 1782 to the reverend father president, asking him for two missionaries for these new establishments.

The reverend father president had at that time only one supernumerary in his mission of San Carlos, and I had only the father preacher Fray Pedro Cambón, who, as has been said, had come from the Philippines and remained here ill. In view of the governor's letter, he decided to leave in his mission of San Carlos the two fathers, Dumetz and Noriega, and to go in person to see the governor and decide upon the foundation, without waiting for the barks in which he thought the six friars asked from his Excellency the Viceroy and named by the venerable Dis-

cretory would surely come. This he did, traveling to San Gabriel, and celebrating confirmations in the two missions on the way at San Antonio and San Luís. He arrived safely at San Gabriel on the day of San José in the middle of the forenoon, so that he was in time to sing High Mass. He had the pleasure to find there the father preacher Fray Pedro Cambón, recuperated now from his illness, and the father minister of that mission with the same blessing. In the few days that he stayed there he gave confirmations in the mission.

As soon as he met the governor he spoke of the matter of the foundings. In view of the information that had been received, of the appointment of six missionaries of our College, and that they were expected on the ship that would soon arrive, they decided to proceed with the founding of the mission of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura and that of Santa Bárbara, together with the presidio of the latter name, for which purpose the reverend father president and Father Fray Cambón resigned themselves to being alone in those missions until the bark arrived.

Everything being in readiness, they set out from San Gabriel on Holy Tuesday, the 26th of March. During the first day's journey, before midnight, a messenger from San Gabriel overtook them, having been despatched by Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages with the parcels of letters that he brought from the commander-general to the governor, in which he told him to set out on the road, with the troops that he had ready, for the Colorado River, to make a third campaign, telling him to postpone the founding until after the conclusion of the expedition. Notwithstanding this, he decided that the troops and settlers should go on to the channel, with the order that when they arrived at the site projected for the mission of the Seraphic Doctor it should be founded, but that they should not go any farther until his return, which would be soon. That same night, with the soldiers that he brought with him from Monterey, the governor returned to San Gabriel to confer with Señor Fages, who had arrived that day at the mission, and to decide upon the matter.

On the following day, the 27th of the same month, the fathers went on their way to the channel with the troops, and arrived on the 29th at the beginning of the channel, in the place called ever since the first expedition La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, which is in thirty-four degrees and thirteen minutes north latitude. Stopping at this place they made a beginning of the foundation, taking possession with a Mass and sermon by the reverend father president on the 31st of March, the first day of the Feast

of the Resurrection, the father preacher Fray Pedro Cambón singing the responses. Afterwards they set about building a chapel, a house for a dwelling, and a stockade.

This work was already well on the way when the governor returned from San Gabriel. After consulting about the expedition to the Colorado with Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages, notwithstanding the order of the commander-general that he should postpone the foundings on the channel and go on the expedition, he postponed the latter instead, and went on with the foundings, leaving orders with Señor Fages to return with his troops to the Colorado with orders for Captain Don Pedro Tueros to retire to Sonora until August, for the expedition would be made in September. He likewise ordered Señor Fages that, after giving the notification to those on the Colorado, he should return with his own troops, who were volunteer soldiers and leather-jackets," to wait until August. He did so, and the governor left San Gabriel for the new foundations.

He arrived at the new mission of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura, and, finding it already founded without any disturbance on the part of the heathen of that place and district, and that they were building houses for our people to live in, he decided to proceed with the founding of the presidio of Santa Bárbara. He

told the reverend father president about it, and he decided to leave Father Fray Pedro Cambón in the new mission, so that, being expert with irrigation, he might busy himself with the work of conducting the water from the arroyo to the mission, for house use as well as for the fields, which was soon accomplished; and his Reverence determined to follow the expedition to the founding of the presidio, thinking that there might be opportunity to found also the mission of Santa Bárbara.

They set out from the mission of the Seraphic Doctor on the —— day* of April,⁷⁸ leaving for the guard of that mission fifteen leather-jacket soldiers with a sergeant, and on the same day they arrived at the place named since the first expedition San Joaquín de la Laguna. It is about ten leagues from the mission of San Buenaventura, not very far from the beach, and in north latitude thirty-five degrees and a few minutes. The presidio was founded on the edge of a grove of live oaks apart from the beach and the Indian village, and not very far from the lagoon. They say the place is gloomy and has little water. After the land had been blessed and the standard of the Holy Cross set up, the first Mass was said under a shelter of branches. This

* A blank is left in the MS. It was about the middle of April (Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 369).

function the reverend father president had to celebrate alone. He remained there until* —, when he left for Monterey, having written beforehand to the father preacher Fray Vicente Fuster, minister of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, that he should come to the mission of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura to serve as substitute until the arrival of the bark with the six missionaries who were expected.⁷⁹ And he wrote to Father Fray Pedro Cambón to go to the new presidio of Santa Bárbara to say Mass, since nothing had been done towards the founding of the mission. The fathers did this, but the father president could not wait because the pack train was going up after corn. While these changes were going on, the barks arrived with the news that I shall relate in the next chapter.

* Another blank occurs in the MS. at this point. It was about May 1st (*ibid.*, 370).

CHAPTER XXXIX

ARRIVAL OF THE BARKS AT THIS PORT OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO, AND THE NEWS THAT THEY BROUGHT

On the 13th day of May, 1783, his Majesty's frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, alias *La Favorita*, dropped anchor in this port, in command of its pilot and captain, Don Agustín de Echeverría, second pilot Don José Tobár, and the chaplain Don José Villaverde, cleric of the diocese of Guadalajara. Shortly afterward the frigate *Princesa* entered and dropped anchor, coming in command of its pilot and captain, Don Estevan Martínez, the second pilot being Don Juan Pantoja, and the chaplain Don Miguel Dávalos, cleric of the diocese mentioned. The two frigates had left in convoy, intending to come all the way in company, but after a few days' sailing they lost sight of each other and did not meet again until they dropped anchor in this harbor on the 13th.

The entire consignment of supplies and provisions came on the two frigates, not only for the three old presidios, but also for the new one at Santa Bárbara, as well as the supplies for the

missions already founded, but there was nothing for the three on the channel, as I shall say later. The consignment from China, which my father companion Fray Pedro Cambón purchased, as I have already said, came also. As soon as the frigates arrived and I received the letters I despatched to his Reverence those directed to the reverend father president, and he met them on the way up to Monterey, between San Antonio and the presidio.

Among the news communicated to us by the reverend father guardian was that his Majesty had honored the colleges, that of Santa Cruz de Querétaro by conferring the mitre of the new bishopric⁸⁰ of Sonora and California, which was to be established, on the Reverend Father Fray Antonio Reyes, missionary of that college; and that of San Fernando by giving the mitre of Maracaibo, in the other kingdom, which was also to be newly established, to the reverend father preacher Fray Juan Ramos de Lora. He came from Spain in the same mission with which I came, and was my companion for many years, in the missions of the Sierra as well as in Old California. He tells us that this illustrious gentleman now has the commission of his Majesty; and that the illustrious Señor Reyes wrote from Madrid that he also had his Majesty's commission and would soon be coming.

He also gave us the news that Fray Manuel de la Vega,⁸¹ who had gone as commissioner to bring a mission, had written from Madrid that his Majesty had named as bishop of Linares the reverend father lecturer, Fray Rafael Verger, missionary and twice guardian of our College, although this information was not confirmed through any other channel. He likewise informed us that they were going to establish four custodias for the missions of the colleges and provinces of the Order, independent of the colleges and provinces and governed by themselves.

The reverend father guardian also told us the reason why missionaries did not come for the missions on the channel. It was because after the venerable Discretory had named the six missionaries of that College for the missions of the channel, he presented himself before his Excellency to ask for the vestments and the one thousand pesos which his Majesty had given to all the other missions to aid in obtaining utensils for house and field; but his Excellency had replied that the vestments for the church were not being given any more because the commander-general of the Interior Provinces and the governor of the Californias had said that the vestments need not be given any more, and that nothing more was necessary.

In view of this, the fathers prepared a memorial in writing for the venerable Discretory

and excused themselves from coming if they were not to be given what was necessary for the foundation, since that would be to cause his Majesty expense for the voyage without accomplishing the purpose of the founding, for lack of the most necessary utensils, and so they would not leave the College.

The reverend father guardian presented the document, accompanying it with another more extreme one which he himself addressed to his Excellency, who, having learned their contents, did not insist but made a report to the Court. For this reason the six friars mentioned did not come, and the founding of the two missions, Purísima Concepción and Santa Bárbara, was postponed, but not that of San Buenaventura.

This mission of the Seraphic Doctor had been projected in the year 1769, at the same time as the two missions of San Carlos and San Diego, and the vestments, utensils, and all the rest had been given, the same as for the others, and were deposited in the mission of San Gabriel. And since, with the coming of the Father Fray Pedro Cambón there were two supernumerary missionaries, the reverend father president decided that this recently founded mission should be maintained. For it he named as ministers the father preachers Fray Francisco Dumetz and Fray Vicente Santa María, who set out for their destination. Father Fray Matías Noriega remained

at the mission of San Carlos as companion for the father president, Father Fray Vicente Fuster retired to San Juan Capistrano, and the father companion, Fray Benito Cambón, came up to this mission of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco. With this distribution the missions⁸² were provided with missionary fathers, two at each one; but the presidio of Santa Bárbara had no priest at all.

Although the frigates quickly unloaded what belonged to this presidio and the two missions, yet they remained until the last of June, when they went to Monterey, and, leaving the cargo for the presidio and three missions, went on to the channel, where they found a good anchorage and landing place in the bay not far from the new presidio, which they called El Príncipe. After unloading they went on to San Diego, to finish discharging the cargo, and after remaining in that port until the middle of October they sailed for San Blas.

CHAPTER XL

CHANGE OF GOVERNORS FOR THESE CALIFORNIAS

It has already been noted that the expedition to the Colorado was postponed until the month of September, for which reason Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages went to that river to report the change to Captain Don Pedro Tueros, so that he might retire to Sonora with his troops. This commission performed, Captain Fages returned with his soldiers to these establishments to spend the time until the date set.

He came out at the mission of San Diego and went on up from mission to mission until he arrived at the new presidio of Santa Bárbara, where he found Governor Don Felipe Neve. After they had been together for some days he told the governor that he would like to go up to Monterey and see all the missions. The governor being agreeable to it, he came up as far as this mission and the port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, where he found the barks still anchored. This was in the middle of June. After resting some three days he returned to the presidio of Santa Bárbara in order not to fail

to be there for the expedition to the Colorado River.

In the middle of August the governor, who was going as commander, with the troops of these new establishments which he had ready, and Señor Fages, with the leather-jacket soldiers and volunteers whom he had brought from Sonora, set out from San Gabriel. Some three days before reaching the Colorado River they met a detachment from Sonora which had crossed the river, bringing the information that the troops for the expedition from Sonora were already there. These soldiers came as messengers, with letters for the governor and Señor Fages, announcing that Lieutenant-Colonel Don Pedro Fages had been appointed governor of both Californias, and Señor Neve as inspector of the presidios of the Commandancy-General. In consequence of this news the new governor retraced his steps to take possession of his office and the new inspector went on to the Colorado River.

This change was the reason why the projected expedition to the Colorado River was not made, for, according to what they wrote from there, the new inspector did not wish that this well-merited blow should be given to the Yuma Indians to frighten them. Consequently those enemies became bolder than ever, even going so far as to ridicule us, coming out on the plain as

though to defy our men, and even wounding some of the Indians who had come to aid us. A captain of regular troops who came with those from Sonora, not being able to bear this humiliation, and having asked permission of the inspector, took the field with some of his own men and had a three days' fight, during which many Indians were killed, without the loss of a single soldier, only one being wounded, and he but slightly. This was the only action that took place, and the inspector went on to Los Arispes to confer with the commander-general.

As soon as the new governor, Don Pedro Fages, parted from the new inspector, he marched straight to San Diego, to hold a meeting with the Indians of the Sierra de San Diego, in order to exhort them to peace and warn them not to do any harm to the mission of San Diego. This conference had excellent results, for they already knew him and feared him since the other time when he was here for a long period. He arrived at San Diego in October and did the same with the Indians of that mission.

He found the barks still anchored, but on the eve of their departure for San Blas, and without stopping he went on up to Monterey, visiting all the missions and exhorting all the Indians to do their duty and remain quiet in their respective missions, and to tell those who had run away to return to their missions and not the least thing

would be done to them, but if they did not return he would go after them and forthwith punish them. This exhortation had good results, and the desirable end to which it was addressed, the restoration of the fugitives of their missions, was accomplished.

In the latter part of October he came to visit this presidio and the two missions, immediately afterwards returning to Monterey, and in January he came back again to chastise some heathen in the neighborhood of Santa Clara who had killed some mares belonging to the settlers of the pueblo of San José. The heathen took up arms, and our soldiers killed two of them without having one of ours even wounded, and, being frightened by this, they voluntarily gave up some of their children for baptism. In the month of March Governor Fages went down to Old California to meet his wife at Loreto, where she arrived from Sonora in the month of April according to the letters which he received on the road. He then returned to Monterey.

CHAPTER XLI

ARRIVAL OF THE BARKS AT THIS PORT OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO. AND THE NEWS WHICH THEY BROUGHT

On the 2d day of June, 1783, the packet *San Carlos el Filipino* dropped anchor in this port, in command of the frigate alférez Don Estevan Martínez, first pilot and captain commander, with pilot Don Juan Pantoja as second in command, Don José Nava, cleric of the diocese of Guadalajara, coming as chaplain. On that bark there came for these missions the father preacher Fray Juan Antonio García Riobóo, missionary of our College of San Fernando, to work in these missions and substitute for those who may fall ill or retire.

The same day the frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, alias *La Favorita*, dropped anchor, in command of the captain and pilot, Don Juan Baptista Aguirre, and the second pilot, Don José Tobár. Don José Villaverde, cleric of the same bishopric of Guadalajara, came as chaplain. Another missionary father of our College came on that frigate, named Fray Fiego Noboa, priest and apostolic preacher like the preceding, and he came for the same duty.

By these fathers and the letters that were received it was learned that the illustrious gentleman, Don Fray Rafael Verger, bishop of Linares, Kingdom of Nuevo León, and Don Fray Juan Ramos de Lora, bishop of Maracaibo, were still at the College awaiting the bulls in order to set out for their destinations. Both are apostolic missionaries of the same College of San Fernando and both came in the same mission with me, the first being my fellow-countryman and schoolmate since childhood when we were studying the rudiments of Latin.

At the same time news came that the illustrious Don Fray Antonio de los Reyes, bishop of Sonora and the Californias, had arrived at the College of San Fernando, where he had been a guest for more than two months, and that on the 15th of September of the previous year of 1782 he was consecrated at Tacubaya, the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory of our College assisting in the function. After his consecration he started for Sonora with nineteen missionaries whom he brought from Spain to set on foot the custodia of San Carlos de Sonora. The illustrious gentleman said that as soon as the establishment of that custodia should be put into effect he would go to Loreto to erect that of San Gabriel for both Californias, removing from Old California the reverend Dominican fathers and putting in

Franciscan Observants as apostolic missionaries, since he had for it all the powers necessary, from the king as well as from the Pope, as apostolic sub-delegate.

In the entire time that the illustrious gentleman was a guest in the College he did not speak of the matter of the custodias, either directly or indirectly. But in the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro he spoke of the custodia of Sonora, and the venerable Discretory spoke openly, telling him that the bull was fraudulent, and presenting before him letters signed by the illustrious gentleman himself when he was missionary of that College, and which he had presented in Mexico when he was attorney for the missions of Sonora, in which was stated the opposite of what he had represented.

His Illustrious Lordship felt this keenly, and he left the College in anger. Nevertheless, he did not lack one follower, for the Reverend Father Fray Sebastián Flores, former lecturer in theology and twice guardian of that College, left there and went with his Lordship. It is not known whether he went as confessor or consultant, or whether it was with the object of taking the appointment of apostolic commissary for the custodias, or as *custos custodium*.

His Illustrious Lordship arrived at Guadalajara, and after explaining to the reverend father provincial of Xalisco the point of the

custodia, although in the beginning there was some opposition, it was all smoothed over, the reverend father provincial agreeing to everything, and sending his letters patent to the missionary fathers in that province of Sonora, ordering them by holy obedience to subject themselves to that custodia, etc. Thereupon he set out for Sonora, where it is presumed he is establishing the custodia.

It seems that there is opposition on the part of the colleges, for according to the letters from the reverend father guardian of ours of San Fernando, and some private individuals who write, they were going to present to the king the injury that was being done them, no reason having been given for depriving them of the missions, and they having worked as will be patent; and that what had been charged could not be in respect to the missions of the colleges, because it is not true, but in respect to those which are under the provinces. May God dispose what is best for the propagation of the Faith and the honor of the colleges.

When the two missionary fathers reached this mission they remained in it until the reply came from the father president, who wrote to tell them to go to Monterey, which they did by land, and the gentlemen of the barks set to work to unload the provisions and goods which they were bringing for this presidio, and the supplies

for these two missions. Through this delay we were able to have them present for the Feast of Corpus Christi, which was celebrated with all possible ceremony. On the 5th of July the packet sailed from this port, and on the following day the *Favorita* sailed, both bound for the port of Monterey, to leave the provisions, going on afterwards to the presidio of Santa Bárbara and San Diego, and intending to return to San Blas in October.

(RUBRIC).

THE END

APPENDICES

CORRESPONDENCE OF FATHER PALÓU

I

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO THE GUARDIAN AND DISCRETORY OF THE COLLEGE OF SAN FERNANDO

TEPIC, OCTOBER 12, 1767.*

VERY REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN, FRAY JOSEPH
GARZÍA, AND THE REVEREND FATHER DISCRETOS
OF THE APOSTOLIC COLLEGE OF SAN FERNANDO
DE MEXICO.

While the reverend father lector and president, Fray Junípero Serra, was in the port of San Blas, about twenty leagues distant from this hospice, for the purpose of learning what opportunity there was for us to embark for the Californias, the father president of the hospice told me that a letter had just come from our very reverend father commissioner-general saying that the fathers from Xalixco were to go to the Californias, by order of his Excellency, and the friars of San Fernando to Sonora, together with those of Santa Cruz.

Although I doubted this statement, I went at once to see the colonel commander-general of the expedition, who told me that it was true. And he read me the letter of his Excellency, saying that

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

the reverend father commissioner-general had suggested that for the peace and harmony of the College of Santa Cruz and the fathers of the Province of Xalixco, his Excellency ought to send the fathers of Xalixco to the Californias and those of San Fernando to Sonora, and that, since both had the same purpose, he had decided that it should be so done, and therefore he was ordering that the friars of Xalixco should be placed in the Californias and those of San Fernando in Sonora. In consequence, the reverend father commissioner sent a letter to his subjects to this effect, bidding them by their holy obedience to do as ordered.

The news thus certain was no less regrettable, since the fathers of the Province who had come to obtain the missions that the clergy of Guadalajara did not wish to occupy, were now placed in the best spot, and we were confined to so poor a field, although we had formerly played the first rôle, with the best missions. So I went down to the hospice, where I found all my companions disconsolate, and the Observants very jubilant at the trick they had played on us, for until then they had been without missions and in the shade, because the priests of Durango were going to have them. I managed the best way I could to console our friars and to dissimulate with the others. But ours continue in their discouragement, seeing frustrated their hopes of going to spend their lives in the conversion of the heathen of the Californias, and knowing that they would not be able to realize them in Sonora because the number of missions for the heathen race are

very few and because the heathen are the Apaches, the most warlike that have been known, and, according to the experience of the Jesuit fathers, incapable of being subdued or improved.

Besides all this, the bishop of Durango wrote to the reverend father guardian of Santa Cruz de Querétaro that he was surprised that the fathers of that college should go to Sonora to occupy the missions, when he had told his clergy to go in person to take possession, by order of his Excellency; that, although he does not mention the number, the bishop of Guadalaxara told it to the fathers of Querétaro; that the viceroy had already written him that his Grace had shown himself very generous, since he had forty priests for the missions of Sonora. And, considering the matter certain, the fathers of Xalisco already had resigned themselves to the seven missions that have been given them in the Nayarith. But they have not overlooked the displeasure of our father commissioner, and so they have thought fit to put us out of the Californias on the pretext of their lack of harmony with the fathers of Santa Cruz. And we, who have conducted ourselves in so brotherly a fashion towards them, are left mortified and without missions.

All these and other things that they have told me with tears in their eyes, have stirred all the companions as your Reverences can well imagine. I have tried to console them by telling them that there was still some help since I inferred that the visitor and that Discretory could not know about it; that I would write to urge you to resist this hard blow,

availing yourself of the visitor, since the honor of the college was concerned, and the possession of active missions so long as the college remained a college. With this they were somewhat appeased, but I have not been able to prevent their writing the enclosed document.*

I hope that you reverend fathers will heed the complaint of your fourteen subjects, who offered themselves with so much pleasure and joy to fulfill their duty to that Apostolic College, bearing in mind the glory of God and the great honor of the College. And in case it can not be brought about to completely expel the fathers of Xalixco from the Californias, it might be requested that we be given the twelve missions of the Californias that face in the direction of the Colorado River, which is the center and boundary of heathendom, and that the five remaining ones of Cape San Lucas be left to the fathers of Xalixco, which, with the seven they have received in Nayarith would leave us equally provided for.

Since they have not accused us of any lack of harmony, but only the fathers of Querétaro, we do not lack hope of securing this, if your venerable Discretory will take it up with the vigor which it is accustomed to show in the affairs of missions, especially because of the good terms on which we stand with the visitor, and the fact that he was greatly pleased that we were going to the Californias. With this, and with the patronage of our

* He refers to a protest signed October 12 by the remaining twelve Fernandinos.

Superior, I hope that we shall come out all right for the glory of God, whom I pray to keep you reverend fathers in both body and spirit for the consolation of all of us.

Hospice of Santa Cruz de Tepic, October 12, 1767.

Your reverences' most humble servant kisses your hands.

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

After this was written the reverend father prefect and president of the mission of Santa Cruz begged of all of us a statement of the part that he and his friars have played with the fathers of the mission of Xalisco, and requests that we shall give a very emphatic testimonial that he has not had the slightest trouble, but has shown a very exemplary brotherliness. He is making the same request of the reverend father president of the hospice and of the reverend father president of the mission of the province of Xalisco, who also are making the statement. All of this helps to make it patent that the report sent to the reverend father commissioner-general was false, and the decree consequently unjust. We are about to make a protest before the commander. All agree to it, but nevertheless I am withholding it until the coming of our father president. This is going by a courier sent by the commander, and addressed to Don Eliseo, in order that the fathers of Xalisco may not send it astray. They have got wind of something and are writing to Mexico.

(Rubric.)

II

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

MEXICO, FEBRUARY 13, 1768.*

MY DEAR SIR:

I am replying to the esteemed letter of your Reverence of the 23d of last January in which you inform me of your arrival at that hospice in company with the three fathers who went with you. And since Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo, after making certain arrangements, took up the march by land to Sonora with his dragoons, and Captain Portolá informed me that he would very soon send to San Blas some one of the barks that he took to the Californias, I beg that your Reverence will in the meantime be pleased to have patience, for perhaps when this letter reaches that town you already will have embarked for your destination with the rest of the friars.

May our Lord preserve your Reverence for many years, as I wish. Mexico, February 13, 1768. I kiss the hands of your Reverence. Your most affectionate servant.

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu,
Santa Cruz de Tepic.

[Endorsed:] The first letter which I received at
Compostela, February 13, 1768.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

III

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SANTA ANA, OCTOBER 31, 1768.*

MY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND:

Although on the 26th I replied to the valued letters of your Reverence dated the 3d and 15th of the present month, it was so briefly and in such haste that I promised myself to do it later in more detail.

I am glad that your Reverence thinks as well of my measures regarding games and tobacco as you say in your first letter, and as you assure me in regard to the other things that I am doing. In this you do me too much honor, for I only desire to succeed in everything, and to revive this Peninsula, whose aspect horrified me when I set eyes and feet on it, because of the universal ruin that threatened it.

I herewith enclose to your Reverence, and I direct also to the other reverend ministers of the rest of the missions, the proclamation which I have issued for the purpose of cutting at the root the monopolies and frauds that were being committed in the trade in silver and gold bullion, on account of the absolute scarcity of coin that is now felt in the whole province, but which will remain in it through the prohibition of its removal.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

The measure which your Reverence took with the Indians who have vineyards in the district of that mission was as wise and judicious as your measures always are, and therefore I approve of it, without having anything to change in the matter. At some future time we will agree upon the method that is best to pursue, to harmonize the interests of the natives with the respect which we owe to legal restrictions. Accordingly I inform your Reverence that the most advantageous method for this mission and the others in the matter of the wine, brandy, figs, and raisins which they have to sell, is to send them by the ships which I order despatched monthly from the port of Escondido to that of Guaymas. There they can be disposed of to advantage and for the benefit of the troops who are carrying on the war in Sonora. And since my commissaries ask me for these goods from there, will your Reverence have the kindness to inform the other reverend friars of it, so that they may all send their surplus crops to Loreto, consigned to the commissary Don Trillo Bermúdez. He will take charge of sending them to the commissaries at Guaymas, and they will all assist in their investment to the best possible advantage for the benefit of the missions. This your Reverence may do immediately, since the *Lauretana* is going to sail with money for that purpose, and I am giving the corresponding orders to everybody.

I now need the entire energy of your Reverence to see about collecting and sending to me in this department, in order to bring about the important objects which are to animate the whole machine, for

the felicity of this Peninsula, eighteen or twenty yokes of oxen, in addition to the few that it has been possible to obtain here, because all the cattle are wild. I know that at that mission and the others in the north the same thing is true, but I see by the inventories that they have some tame cattle, and so I believe that with those that your Reverence can provide from your own and that you may ask from the nearest missions, you can collect for me the number of yokes mentioned, and send them to me by Indians and servants who will not lose them. It is thoroughly understood that I will order payment made for the value of all of them, and for the expenses of their conduction, for these oxen are not for the laudable journey to Monterey, but for other matters in the service of his Majesty, who pays for all in benefits and money, without asking anything gratuitous from the poor Indians.

Finally, your Reverence will tell me also if for the time when I go up from La Paz to Loreto you can send me twelve or fourteen mules equipped for packing, since those from here have much and very urgent occupation, and those from the presidio have to make longer journeys to the north.

Your Reverence will see in these requests the confidence and friendship with which I treat you; please treat me in the same way, and God be with you. May He preserve you for many years, as is my desire. Real de Santa Ana in California. October 31, 1768.

I kiss your Reverence's hands. Your most affectionate servant and friend,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Your Reverence may count upon the value of the silver which was found at the mission at the time of the banishment of the Jesuit fathers, for I do not consider it just that what was the product of the sweat of the poor Indians should be adjudged to be the temporal property of the Jesuits, since those ministers were no more than mere administrators, and not owners. I have given the same assurance to the other missions where this silver or gold was found. Therefore your Reverence does not owe me thanks for your Xavieriños, of whom I desire to have there a moderate number. I again charge your Reverence to send me as soon as you can those who have some knowledge of masonry, for there is a notable lack of them here, and they will earn good day's wages, besides rations of meat and corn.

(Rubric.)

The reverend father president has just arrived in good health, and this letter, with others for Loreto, will have to wait until day after tomorrow. His Reverence tells me that at San Xavier there are no serviceable masons, but that there are many stone-cutters, and if enough of them come we will get along with them.

To my Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu, San Xavier.

IV

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

CAPE SAN LUCAS, FEBRUARY 20, 1769.*

MY MOST ESTEEMED FATHER AND FRIEND:

Since I am writing at length to the father president, and am giving orders to the governor for them to go, I suppose that your Reverence will go immediately to Loreto, and that you will learn through the report that I am giving to his Reverence of everything that has been done here, and that our God carried me successfully through the undertaking of the expedition by sea.

The *San Antonio* sailed, with even more provisions than the *San Carlos*, on the 15th of this month, the day of the translation of the saint of its name, on which day it also received the blessing of ship and flags, with four reverend brothers present, and aided by two cannon, through the arrival of the new packet *San Joseph*. There was a burlesque sermon as at La Paz. This being a new thing for the padres, it caused them to sob, and snivel, and sigh. But nothing is too much in such a great work, and my exhortations have not been useless in which the tongue pronounced the desires of my heart,

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

which has gone on the barks for me because I could not sail on them. Because of my preachings they will say that in the Californias was performed the Comedy of the Devil Preacher, but I shall laugh heartily if they should call me so if only we succeed in accomplishing the holy purpose of our undertaking.

I see very evident signs of its success, for there has not been a day of northwest wind since the 15th of January, when the *San Carlos* doubled this cape; and since the *Príncipe*, alias the *San Antonio*, sailed, the winds have been so favorable that we all figure that they are now in the port of San Diego, and have perhaps dropped anchor to-day in that port, for without the least exaggeration both packets sail like birds.

Now I am working on the *San Joseph*, so that it may carry me from La Paz to Loreto, and then to Sonora, where my last measures are to be taken. But not for that shall I fail to go to San Xavier, for I greatly esteem the sons of that mission, and I truly love its present minister. For this reason there are no preparations to be made for the road.

There is no more time, so may God be with your Reverence. Order whatever you may wish. Cape San Lucas, February 20, 1769.

My most Reverend Brother: Before I signed this letter the soldier Olivera arrived, and among other letters he delivered to me one from your Reverence dated the 13th of the present month, and since the good news has already gone, let the *Te Deum* be sung [torn] and Loreto, where it should be done

with ceremony, and then prayers offered for a good voyage. Nothing must trouble your Reverence, and if you lack anything ask it from Trillo, who will give it to you. The *Lauretana* is going with grain until they come for thousands of bushels.

I kiss the hand of your Reverence. Your most affectionate servant and friend,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Paláu.

[On the back:] Although I do not believe that Captain Rivera will fail to be already at San Diego, after the reiterated orders that I gave him to go there when I left La Paz for this cape, nevertheless I am now writing him an answer to his letters written in January from Villacatá, and I am giving him very important orders for the rest of the journey to Monterey. I am therefore sending the parcel directly to your Reverence, with the strictest and most earnest charge that you will make every effort to send it in haste by relay through the missions, urging the reverend friars not to waste an instant in sending it on, until it reaches the hands of the captain, in the full knowledge that any delay will be a great annoyance to me, and that I shall not take the trouble to conceal it. May God lend wings to the messengers, and grant us the pleasure, for which I am hoping, that within a few months the news will come that our packets are lording it over the famous port that has cost so many expeditions and anxieties. I am all yours.

GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

On the 1st of March, 1769, there went from the mission of San Joseph thirty families, comprising one hundred and twenty souls, and to that of Cade-gomó twenty-seven families with eighty-four souls.

[Endorsed:] Feb. 20. Received on the 2d day of March, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and I immediately despatched the letter for the captain to Guadalupe.

V

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO
PALOU

LA PAZ, APRIL 10, 1769.*

MY DEAR AND ESTEEMED SIR:

The soldier Leyba, who has been detained here because I was busy in despatching other more pressing affairs, and so that he might carry news of the day on which, God willing, we may embark for Loreto, delivered to me your Reverence's letter dated the 28th of last month. I was grateful, as always, for your attention, and for the news that one of our packets had been seen by Indians belonging to the mission of Santa María on the 8th of the preceding month, and also that our Father President had set out on his holy pilgrimage with his foot somewhat improved.

I have given orders that we shall start, God willing, on the 13th or 14th of the month, if two launches and the sloop which are at Cerralvo finally arrive, for the *Lauretana* has not yet appeared.

Leyba is taking one of my horses with orders to leave him there, and your Reverence will cause him to be given two feedings a day of half a peck of corn each, which is his ration, and I will pay for it with the very sure interest which I have at Loreto.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

The Indians who came from that mission to San Joseph wish to return, because they all fell ill with the ague, with which the latter mission has become infected.

I name as a successor to Father Murguía Chaplain Don Juan Antonio Baeza, appointing him with the permission of his prelates, because it is better for the service of God that Father Murguía shall go on the packet *San Joseph*, which is to set sail to Monterey, in the middle of next month, for he will be very useful and even necessary there.

I repeat my usual assurance to your Reverence, and desire that our Lord may preserve your life many years. Port of La Paz, April 10, 1769. I kiss your Reverence's hands. Your most affectionate servant,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu, San Xavier.

VI.

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

LA PAZ, APRIL 13, 1769.*

MY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND:

I will only say in reply to your Reverence's letter that, God willing, I am in the mind that we shall embark tomorrow, the 14th. And since, if His Majesty carries us safely and quickly, we shall soon meet in Loreto, I am putting off until then the answer to the points of present interest, and others that may occur. They will have to wait, because I cannot stop long in the Department of the North, nor delay longer now because I have been recently bled, am attending to a multitude of affairs, and am in a hurry for Berdugo to go, for the reason that he brought from the road a son of Felipe Romero.

I again assure your Reverence of my sincere affection and my desire that Our Lord may preserve your life many years. Port of La Paz, April 13, 1769. I kiss your Reverence's hands. Your most affectionate servant and friend,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu,
San Xavier.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

VII.

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SANTA BARBARA, SONORA, MAY 9, 1769.*

MY DEAR AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED SIR:

Early in the morning of the 4th of the present month we dropped anchor in a poor bay which the pilots mistook for this of Santa Cruz de Mayo, but which was really in the province of Yaqui, nearer to Guaymas than to this place, and where the wind failed us and did not permit us to continue the voyage for two or three days. But, to commemorate His marvelous ascension, and cause us to lift our eyes to heaven, the Lord favored us with a south wind as soon as we let fall the anchor. As it grew stronger every moment, on the 4th and the next day, it put us in some doubt as to whether the cables of the packet would withstand it; but they held fast and we endured the wind and the high waves. On the 6th, having perceived the error under which our pilots were laboring, we set sail, and it cost us two days' run to reach this place, where I disembarked yesterday.

I set myself at once to despatching couriers to inform the inhabitants of the country, loyal as well

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

as rebellious, of my arrival, with an edict of which I am sending a copy to Don Juan Gutiérrez. He will communicate it to your Reverence, if you wish to see it and to aid with your prayers and sacrifices the successful outcome of the measures with which I am opening to the enemy the doors of mercy. On the other hand, I threaten them with all the severity of justice, which they will experience with even more reality than the words express, if they should be so unfortunate as to have their hearts so hardened by their sins that they must die in desperation. I hope, nevertheless, that this will not happen, and that our great God will permit them, through his ineffable mercy, to understand the danger to their lives and souls, so that they may bend the knee to the two kings of Heaven and Earth.

I am sending off the launch in haste, so that everything may be ready on the arrival of the *San Joseph*, which should not delay an hour longer than is necessary, in order not to lose the best season of the year, in which the south and southeast winds may carry it quickly to Monterey. I have therefore directed your Reverence to get ready promptly all that may be in your charge, so that this packet may conduct it to the new missions, and that it may not be delayed for an instant, for it would be very annoying to me and might prejudice greatly the important objects of the expedition.

Before going ashore I had the pleasure of learning that the new governor and the gentlemen observers of the planet Venus embarked at San Blas on the packet *Concepción* on the 19th of the past month.

By this I judge that they are now in that Peninsula, especially since the south wind of the new moon blew on the 4th and 5th of the present month. By this news I have been relieved of an anxiety which caused me some well founded disquiet; and I suppose also that the *Concepción* will have taken the consignment of goods which I ordered from Mexico for the purpose of covering the nakedness of those natives, and that it will immediately come to Loreto with the clothing, in case the commissioners and chiefs have landed in the south. I refrain from recommending again promptness in the distribution of that gift as soon as the packet *San Joseph* is despatched, for I know that your Reverence desires as much as I do that these Californians shall be covered, and I have labored not a little for their benefit.

Let this letter serve for the reverend fathers Martínez and Escudero and the rest of the brothers, for they know very well that it is impossible for me to duplicate letters. I conclude by assuring your Reverence of my affection, and my desire that our Lord will preserve your life many years.

Bay of Santa Bárbara, May 9, 1769. I kiss the hand of your Reverence. Your most affectionate servant,

JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.
Loreto.

[Endorsed:] He reaches the other shore on May 9.

VIII

FRAY JUAN CRESPI TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SAN DIEGO, JUNE 9, 1769.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE JOURNEY TO PUERTO DE SAN DIEGO

HAIL JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH!

TO MY REVEREND FATHER LECTOR, FELLOW STUDENT
AND PRESIDENT, FR. FRANCISCO PALÓU.

My very dear fellow-student and friend! I shall be very glad if this letter finds your Reverence in the perfect health that my deep affection wishes for you. I give thanks to God for this favor to me, and as always I am awaiting orders for your further pleasure.

My dear friend: the 22d of March, Wednesday of Holy Week, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, I reached Villacatá well and without any injury to my health. The two boys whom I brought with me and the soldier Islas were likewise sound. Arriving at Villacatá, I found the captain well and ready to leave on Holy Thursday, although we did not start on that day. I very much desired to write your Reverence from that place before our departure, but the captain's insistence and the fact of

* British Museum. Add MS. 13974. Copia de Cartas escritas por R. P.^{or} Fr. Juan Crespi.

my having just arrived at the place did not permit it. The 24th of March, Good Friday, we left Villacatá in the afternoon, starting our journey in search of the port of San Diego. The 14th of May, the Feast of Espíritu Santo, we arrived with the greatest success at this pleasant port of San Diego, all in good health, thanks to the Lord, having spent fifty-two days on the way, with not a few misadventures on such an unknown road, in danger every instant, since it was all so thickly populated with numerous Indians; but thanks to the Lord we suffered no harm anywhere on the way.

When we arrived at this port of San Diego we found in it the two packetboats, *San Carlos* and *El Príncipe*. The latter arrived here the 11th of April and the former the 19th of the same month. We found the crews of both ships and the soldiers from the *San Carlos* filling a hospital on shore, recovering from the disease of loanda or scurvy. Up to the present twenty-one have died from the crews of both ships, including one or two of the soldiers on the *San Carlos*. At this time the sailors on *El Príncipe* are very few, since those who are somewhat stronger, and able to walk and do a little work, are only about six or seven, while of the soldiers only three are well, all the rest being sick, many dying, the majority with cramps in the legs or all over the body. With all this trouble your Reverence can easily see how well fitted this sea expedition is to continue its course to Monterey.

At present only those of us who came by land are in good health. We found here Fathers Parrón,

Vizcaíno, and Gómez, who, although they have been a little indisposed, are all well once more. Of all our group the one who is frailest and weakest is Father Parrón, who says that he will stay at this port. Of those on the two vessels the strongest are the lieutenant of the volunteers, Sr. Costanzó, the captain of *El Príncipe*, and his pilot. Although some of them have been ill, they have now recovered, and with the few that I brought they are the only ones from the two vessels that are able to do anything. The *San Carlos* spent three months and nineteen days on the voyage, since they went as far as thirty-five degrees in search of this port, and the same thing happened to *El Príncipe*, although, as I have observed, this port is only thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes north latitude. As a matter of fact, they are disembarking the leather-jacket soldiers from *El Príncipe*, in order to send it to San Blas to inform the visitor-general of what occurred on the sea expedition. Meanwhile, if the *San Joseph* does not come, or the sick do not get relief, I do not know how the commanders will manage to go on to Monte Rey. God has seen fit to send us the gift of patience and submission to the Most High Providence of the Lord, since he willed that those of us who came by land should arrive at this port in good health. I am much troubled because I do not know when our father lector president and the governor will come.

When we reached this port, since there was no fresh water near, we went back about a league, still in sight of it, where the fathers who arrived the first

of the month had already investigated. We found there a good-sized river* which empties into the sea through an estuary which the ships use as a watering-station. This river has a very large, broad plain on its banks, which seems to be of very good soil, with many willows, some poplars, and some alders, although so far it has not been possible to examine it properly. If the river is permanent it may prove in time to be the best of those discovered in all California. On the banks of this river, which are thickly covered with willows, there are many Castilian rose bushes with very fragrant roses, which I have held in my hand and smelled. All the plain is dotted over with wild grapevines, which look as if they had been planted, and at present their many branches are in bloom. We have been in this port since the second day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo, but we have not yet been able to begin the mission, and we are much troubled because the river, which flows through the plain and which has very good, clear water, as we have observed every day, is diminishing to such a degree that although two weeks ago when we arrived we saw it flowing with an abundant stream, it has now diminished so that it hardly runs at all, and they say now that they can cross it dry shod. If this continues it will be necessary to look for another place to establish the mission and obtain irrigation.

This port is a large, level place in the midst of great meadows and plains, with very good pasturage for all kinds of cattle, and not a stone is found for variety. All the port is well populated with a

* San Diego River.

large number of villages of Indians, too clever, wide-awake, and business-like for any Spaniard to get ahead of them. The men are naked and almost all are very much painted. They are well armed with bows and quivers of arrows. We are camped near one of their villages. They received us in peace, thanks to the Lord, and so far there has been no trouble, but strict care is necessary, since they are great thieves. The women, as many as we have seen, are all properly clothed with a thick apron from the waist in front, and skins of deer or seals behind, and some have a garment made of hare or rabbit skins in the shape of a cape with which they cover their breasts and the rest of their bodies, in the manner of a blanket.

We suffered great cold on the way and it still prevails. The northwest and west winds are very cold—too cold. But in spite of it all we have all kept our health throughout, except one soldier who became ill during the week of our departure from Villacatá. I administered all the sacraments to him as he seemed to be in the last extremity, but, thanks to God, he recovered and at present is safe and sound.

Many of the fifty-one Christian Indians who accompanied us were sick. I buried five on the way, and almost all the rest absconded on the road. But this is not to be wondered at, since they did not give them food where there was mescal, which was lacking most of the way. When this failed they had to get along with only a little atole, although the need of water was more urgent than that of atole. Since

I could not remedy this at all, it is not strange that they returned to their missions, or that of the whole number only thirteen reached this port, or that some of them were sick.

I do not know how to tell your Reverence what we suffered from hunger on this journey, because the captain took only sixteen tierces of very old flour and ten packs of jerked beef. This was all the food that was brought; and if he had left eight other tierces of the flour which he did not wish to take, we surely should have perished from starvation halfway along the road. From what he did take we had two meals a day of poor tortillas, which were mostly bran, and a bit of roasted jerked beef that was so hard and so salty that only necessity could make one eat it, except some days when they boiled it in water. On those days we considered it a great treat to have a little stew, which was more like brine than anything else, but the beef, which softened with cooking, tasted as if it were the finest chicken.

This was all the food we had on the journey. The beef gave out eleven days before we reached this port, and the soldiers got along with a single dry tortilla, although mine lasted until we arrived here. This, without any seasoning or sauce, and the morning chocolate, which was more like a poor syrup than anything else, was our only food. Praise God for preserving our health.

Almost all the road was through the mountain, or mountains, some of them very rough, but we found water and good pasturage in them on every day's march. We always traveled on the mountains

because the captain had a complete aversion for going down to the seashore, until finally the mountain forced us to descend because of its height, roughness and steepness, and he was obliged, in spite of himself, to allow us to come down to the beach. In my opinion all our good fortune in not perishing was due to this, because the beach gave us a good and very easy passage by land, was well supplied with pasturage, and had sufficient fresh water for all. We reached this port with only three tierces of flour and part of another, and this only because when the first eight tierces were used up strict orders were given that the two tortillas that were distributed as rations at the two meals should be made very thin, so that we might not perish entirely.

Words fail me in which to tell your Reverence of the danger that this man put us in because of his whim, since, without knowing what road we had to travel over, he left at Villacatá as much flour as he took with him, considerable corn, four or five boxes of chocolate, and four or five jars of wine and brandy, of which he took only his case full, although there were a great plenty of mules, for in all one hundred and eighty-nine have come.

Moreover, instead of the fifty-two days that we spent on the way, the journey could have been made in a month or a little over. I do not know why, except that it suited his fancy, we were in some spots two days, and in some even two and a half, according to what I wrote in my diary, a copy of which will not fail to reach your Reverence in time,

together with the latitudes and directions on the occasions when they could be observed on the way. I have reckoned the distance from Santa María to this port as one hundred and twenty-eight leagues, and from Villacatá as one hundred and eight leagues and a half. On all the journey we found about ten good sites, with sufficient land and water for establishing missions, and with the soil suitable to raise everything. Many sites have marshes and moist land, as will be seen in the diary in good time. The first place was San Isidoro in thirty-one degrees and five minutes. It has much moist land and some other land for irrigation, with a very good stream of water somewhat larger than that which flows near the Hospice of Tepic, well-wooded with white poplars, many willows, underbrush, and pasturage for the cattle. This stream flows to the northwest by west at the foot of a very high mountain.

Six or seven leagues beyond Río de San Isidoro we came upon a large river very much blocked up and choked with trees. I called it Río de San Dionisio, and although we saw no land good for agriculture where we crossed, we learned from some Indians by signs that it emptied into the sea, and that two or three streams of water joined it; and that beyond the mountain there was a great confluence; hence we did not doubt that near the shore there might be some plains that would be suitable for establishing a mission. Two leagues beyond the river of San Dionisio we came upon a stream which I called the San León. It has a flow of water perhaps as large as the San Joseph Comundú; and

although we did not see any land in passing, we were persuaded that some would be found on exploring.

I will mention only one other place, the one which I called San Francisco Solano, since in time you will read about all of them in the diary. This San Francisco Solano is a large valley, which is in 32° and $12'$, and is entered from the north. In the center of the level ground it has two springs about two hundred feet from each other, one larger than the other, and from the two there is a good flow of water. It has also abundant land and pasturage, and I do not doubt that one hundred bushels of wheat could be sown there. Moreover, it is well wooded. The captain and the soldiers told me that there are to the west-northwest of this valley many marshes and much tule land, and that a large amount of moist land could be planted. From the Christian Indians I also learned that by going in the same direction to the beach, which is not very far from this valley, one finds flowing there a large body of water like a river.

Besides this, to the east and northeast, two rivers can be made out in the distance, flowing down from the mountain between green, wooded banks, which we conjectured might also have good water, although we could not explore them. Of all the good places this seems to me the most advantageous, and thus your Reverence has now a good site for establishing the mission of San Francisco Solano, which will be about eighty leagues distant from Villacatá, according to my reckoning. Besides, this is the eighth of the good locations, counting from Villacatá, while

from San Francisco Solano to this place there are only two others, namely San Jorge and San Juan Bautista. This last also might be a good mission. It is fifteen leagues distant from this port of San Diego, but I could not take its latitude. It was there that we began to get news of the ships, in some well populated villages of Indians who crowded around us and were very peaceful but wide-awake. All along the road from Villacatá, as we continually saw from the mountain, there were many footprints, and many well worn paths of the Indians, but, although we came upon many villages, we did not find a very large number of people because the greater part of the mountain is very barren, so that the poor wretches do not have anything to eat. Even the mescal, their daily bread, is not to be found in the greater part of the mountains, and those that we crossed are so very poor that the numerous tribes of Indians on the two slopes are forced to get their living from the sea.

On all the mountain we saw no trees that produce food except some on a peak in the distance that appeared to be pines. Indeed, all the trees that we came upon were on streams, and as far as we have penetrated the mountains continue even barer than those about the old missions. When we descended to the shore because the mountain had closed our road by its height and steepness, our Gracious Lady wished it to be at the great Bay of the Virgins.* The map does not show it quite correctly, because it rep-

* Todos Santos Bay. Port San Quentín, a little north of Todos Santos, was called by Vizcaino Bay of Eleven Thousand Virgins, in allusion to the virgins of Cologne.

resents it with one island, whereas it has two islands, with all the headlands or farallones that the map shows. The bay is about twenty-eight leagues from this port, and is in thirty-two degrees and fourteen minutes north latitude.

When we reached the coast we began to encounter what we had expected, that is, very well populated Indian villages. From the tops of the nearby hills Indians well armed with their bows and quivers began to shout at us, and although we made signs to them to come to us and that we did not intend to harm them, they never let themselves be seen at close range. For three days one village of twenty-nine Indians followed us along the hill-tops, shouting all the time and too often with gestures of wanting to shoot us with their arrows. Indeed, on the second day they came so near us that they were almost within shooting distance. Fearing an ambush in some pass, the captain ordered the pack animals halted, and that all the soldiers should then show themselves with their shields and their arms in their hands, drawn up in battle array. All the Indians drew up on a small hill in the same valley a little more than a gunshot away. The captain gave orders that none of our men should say a word, but all should be on the lookout. All the Indians were shouting at us and making gestures of intending to shoot us, until finally, although they were not within shooting distance, they shot three arrows into the air, which fell not far from the captain and the soldiers. At this demonstration the captain and another soldier fired twice without hitting the Indians, because they were out of range. For this

reason they retreated to the top of the Sierra, which was near, and gradually disappeared, giving a loud war whoop.

We were delayed more than two hours in this business, but when the Indians had disappeared we continued our journey, giving thanks to the Lord. The following day we came upon the river of San Juan Bautista, on which we found a village of very peaceful and friendly Indians, from whom we learned by signs that the port of San Diego was not very far away, and that the two ships were there, and that there were fathers dressed in habits like mine. From this settlement a number of Indians guided us from village to village until we reached this port, which, as I have said, is about fifteen leagues distant from the Río de San Juan Bautista.

Although I should like to enlarge upon this narrative more, I cannot, and although I intend to write to my dear Father Martínez, I shall not be able to do so at such length. Therefore I request you to show him this letter and beg him to consider it as his, and tell all the other father companions that I hope they are enjoying the best of health, begging them all most earnestly to keep me in mind in their sacred devotions, and to pray that we may arrive at the port of Monterey as soon as possible, although I do not know what means will be found, since almost all are sick, including the commander of the ships, Don Vicente Vila, and his pilot.

May your Reverence receive the best of greetings from the fathers and the captain, who are all in per-

fect health. I remain, your Reverence, as always, entirely yours, begging God that he may guard and keep you many years.

From this port of San Diego, June 9, 1769. As always, your Reverence's most affectionate fellow student, friend, and humble servant, who honors you in all things.

FRAY JUAN CRESPI (Rubric).

IX

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

ALAMOS, SONORA, SEPTEMBER 3, 1769.*

MY DEAR AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED SIR: .

I have received the two letters from your Reverence dated the 14th and 15th of last month and brought to me by the launch *Cinaloa*. And in my reply to them, which I shall have to make very brief, I will say that a malignant fever, coming on top of other illness, put me at the point of ending my earthly career. But by the infinite mercy of God I am favorably convalescing, and tomorrow will set out on the road to the Cuartel of Pitic, with the object of not neglecting any measure or effort that may conduce to the final extinguishment of the vile race of rebellious pirates, enemies of God, of the King, and even of themselves, for they were not willing to take advantage of the pardon which I offered them in the name of both Majesties if they would yield at discretion.

I shall be very glad if the shipment of articles for the aid of the missions arrives. That part of it which I ordered reserved for the new missions, and whatever is contained in the enclosed memorandum,

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. I.

which I am sending to Don Juan Gutiérrez, I am ordering him to send to Cape San Lucas in canoes, so that the *San Antonio* may take it when it passes there.

From the reports made to me by Father Serra it becomes necessary that the mission shall remain for the present at Santa María, and that to the one established at Villicatá shall be given the title and appellation of San Fernando.

By the information which I am giving to Gutiérrez, which my occupations will not permit me to duplicate, your Reverence will learn of the events of the expedition which went by sea and land to Monterey. I hope that your Reverence and your companion fathers will not fail to continue your prayers to María Santísima and to the holy patriarch San Joseph for that expedition, so that the good fortune may be perpetuated which that Peninsula and camp is already beginning to experience from the abundant rains, and so that I may obtain from the Lord health and strength to be able to conclude in His service the great work which has brought me on these wanderings.

On account of the near approach of my departure, the multitude of affairs that are urging me to bring them to a conclusion, and the weak state of my worried head after so much suffering, it is impossible for me to reply today to the other particulars about which, on this occasion and the last, your Reverence wrote to me. I will add, nevertheless, your Reverence, that Don Francisco Trillo has orders to send the supplies from your college on the

Concepción, or as many of them as the bark will hold, and the rest will go on the *Lauretana*, or in another voyage on the *Concepción*.

I have felt the death of Father Morán keenly, and also the illness of Father Murguía, and the delay of the *San Joseph* in doubling the Cape, on account of the lack of a reënforcement of sailors for the *San Carlos* which will result.

I renew to your Reverence the assurance of my affection, with which I pray God to preserve you many years. Real de los Alamos, September 3, 1769. I kiss the hands of your Reverence. Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu, Loreto.

[Endorsed:] From Los Alamos, saying that on account of his illness he cannot reply to me.

X

FRAY JUAN CRESPI TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SAN DIEGO, FEBRUARY 6, 1770.*

JOURNEY TO THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO IN SEARCH
OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY

LONG LIVE JESUS, MARY, AND JOSEPH.

MY REVEREND FATHER LECTOR, FELLOW STUDENT, AND
PRESIDENT FR. FRANCISCO PALÓU. MY EVER-
HONORED AND VERY DEAR FELLOW STUDENT IN
CHRIST:

How eager I am that this may find your Reverence in the full perfection of health! Although very much fatigued by the long journey and pilgrimage that we have just completed. Father Gómez and I are in good health, thanks be to God, in spite of the indescribable toils through which we have passed, and, in accordance with my desire, together with our Father Lector Junípero, I promise as always to serve you in everything that may please you.

My dear friend:—Last year, '69, when the *Príncipe* was about to leave this port of San Diego at the end of June or the beginning of July, I wrote to your Reverence several letters concerning my safe arrival at this port, and how also our father lector had arrived with the governor. In one letter

* British Museum. Add MS. 13974. Copia de Cartas escritas por el R. P.^o Fr. Juan Crespi. [Verges makes the following endorsement:] Copy of letters written by the Father Preacher Fray Juan

I wrote at length about what happened to the crews of the two boats and the expedition, and those that had died at this port, and how at the same time the expedition by land continued its journey in search of the port of Monterey, on which Father Gómez and I were going, as we did. I suppose that you must have received those letters of mine and learned their contents.

Now I will tell your Reverence how on the 14th of July of last year, '69, we left this port of San Diego, traveling by land with prow towards the north, to go in search of the much praised port of Monterey. On the 14th of January of the present year we all arrived again on our return, having gone to the parallel of thirty-eight degrees, at which is the port of San Francisco. However, that of Monterey has become invisible to us, and we did not find it anywhere throughout the journey. And judging from what we saw all along the coast, using the greatest care that it was possible to observe and that your Reverence can think of, we did not find the port of Monterey before we came upon that of San Francisco, which is a very noble and very large harbor and is on the parallel of thirty-eight degrees,

Crespi, apostolic missionary of the College of San Fernando of Mexico, concerning the land expeditions which were made in the year of 1769 in search of the port of Monterey. After having worked for seventeen years with laudable zeal in the missions of the Sierra Gorda, which were under the charge of that college, he went to California for the same work in 1768. Also a letter of Sergeant Don Joseph Francisco de Ortega, who accompanied the same expedition. With the correction of the above letters, they agree with their originals; and no new copy is sent because the mail does not permit. August 4, 1771.

FRAY RAFAEL VERGER, Guardian.

as I said. We were at that port about seven days, and I will go on explaining with all detail what we saw and explored up to that place. Unless the port of Monterey is beyond thirty-eight degrees (and then all the accounts and Cabrera would be proved wrong, which can hardly be believed, since we saw very clearly all that Cabrera in particular says of the coast, with as much exactitude as if he had been with us and told it to us) this is the place. Therefore, the best and most careful conclusion that we could come to is that Monterey has been lost or the land swallowed up, unless, as I have said, it is beyond thirty-eight degrees. I will now go on explaining.

When we left this port of San Diego for Monterey we always kept close to the shore (and only near this port, so as to take a straight line, did we leave it for about six leagues) until, about a month after setting out from here, that is, on the 14th of August, we entered the first regular town of the Channel of Santa Bárbara, which was given the name of Assumpta de María Santísima, since we both said Mass there. This place has a pretty river, land, and numerous peaceful and friendly Indians. From this place to the Punta de la Conversión,* which is probably about eight or ten leagues beyond, come the majority of the islands that form this channel, and which are probably about five or six leagues from the mainland, since we saw them very clearly. This side of the Punta de la Conversión there are no

* Crespi's diary does not mention Punta de la Conversión, but it is on several old maps. Ten leagues from Assumpta would place it near Santa Bárbara, about where it appears on the Costanzó map.

islands, as I understand it, except the first two as you go from here; they are San Clemente and Santa Catharina, both of which we saw well and which are not far before you reach the Punta de la Conversión.

Having arrived, as I said, at Assumpta, the first town of the channel, we always followed the shore until we reached the port of San Francisco, and I lay it before your consideration whether everything would have been carefully explored or not when we were going on an undertaking of so much importance and value. I made the observations with Don Miguel Costanzó at all the places where I was able to do so and where the weather permitted, taking the elevations and noting them in the proper places. From Assumpta we followed the channel along the beach almost all the way to this port of San Francisco, except at the Sierra de Santa Lucía, which did not allow a passage because it is very steep at the sea, and it was necessary to open a road over it for some leagues, so as to be able to advance and to explore it along the shore, as we did with the greatest accuracy.

This channel of Santa Bárbara is very well settled, with towns composed of large huts roofed with thatch and with a very great number of peaceable and friendly Indians. There are at least nine or ten towns. All have canoes, very well made. Six villages had as many as fifteen canoes each, which they use for fishing, because many kinds of fish, such as tunny, needle-fish, sea bass, barbel, and very large sardines, are plentiful. All these towns welcomed us with much rejoicing and entertained

us well, bringing us a fine supply of fish, in particular fresh tunny, of which they made great piles for us. We had to tell them that we would not take so much because it would be wasted, for if we had wished to use all the pack animals, without doubt it would have loaded them down. All these people are very wide awake and active, and have no fault except that of being very nimble with their fingers. There may well be ten thousand souls along the channel, from the first town of Assumpta to the Punta de la Concepción, where the islands end. There is one town of thatched huts on an island made by a large inlet. As we looked at it from a distance it appeared that it might have a hundred houses, at least as many as that, and the number might amount to two hundred. We conjectured that this village alone might have about eight hundred souls, and besides this there are four or five large villages in the neighborhood of this inlet. Besides the abundant fish on which they live, they have many grass seeds of which they make very good pinole and atole.

I began this letter with the intention of being very diffuse, and explaining everything in detail, but I have just this instant received notice that the expedition is to return to California within a week, because they say there is no food on which to live, since the ship *San Joseph* and even the *Príncipe*, which should have returned by now, for it left for San Blas before we left for Monterey, has not come. Therefore, I will recount to you as briefly as possible the remainder of our journey.

The time that we spent going and coming was six months and eight days. We did not find Monterey in all the distance that we passed over; and I do not know whether it exists or not. We did find the Sierra de Santa Lucía, which is a high, white, rough mountain, very steep at the sea and exactly as Cabrera says. Since we found a point of pines at about six or eight leagues distance, and since it was the only one that was seen on the whole trip, we explored the mountain twice with the greatest care possible, and the Point of Pines, according to my observation, is in latitude of thirty-six degrees and forty-two minutes.

Where the Point of Pines begins there is a little cove; it may be that it cuts into the land a quarter of a league, and from here the Point of Pines extends. The pines are very dilapidated, and not as the accounts describe them, and I can assure your Reverence that I did not see a single one on the whole point that would do for masts or spars for these ships. And since this point ends where it merely touches the port of Monterey, from its terminal there extends a very large cove, of some twenty leagues at least, to the point of Año Nuevo. Along this cove runs a range of very high sand dunes; they are mountains in height and cover five leagues in extent. Near this point where they begin we found four lakes, all of very poor, brackish water, so that from only one of them could one drink in case of need. Where the lakes are there is a plain which extends as far as the dunes run, and turns perhaps two leagues towards a mountain.

Some large and small oaks and some tattered pines are found near some dunes where the lakes are. This, according to the opinion that we all formed at this place, is the spot where Monterey ought to be, but we found it closed with high sand dunes. About four or five leagues from where these dunes end, on the same beach, there is a large estuary, and near it much moist level ground, and many large ponds, but without any trees or any signs of a harbor, although we explored it twice.

Near this spot we not only saw tracks of the mountain animals, but the captain succeeded in seeing on a trail about twenty-eight as large as cows, with their young, but it seems to me, as I heard them described, that the antlers or horns were like those of deer, although the points were like blunt sticks. Not far from this spot we saw manure like that of horses and we saw bears' dung everywhere. I did not succeed in seeing any of these animals, but the soldiers saw several, and they testified that the animals with the manure like horses were like mules. They said that some of these animals must be buffalo, but I say that they cannot have been, according to the skins and the pictures which I have seen.

Seeing that Monterey did not appear, it was decided, with great eagerness, in view of the fact that the thirty-seven degrees had not been covered, to continue until it was found. And at thirty-seven degrees and forty-nine minutes according to my reckoning and some few minutes less according to that of Don Miguel Constanzó, we found ourselves

in front of a very large inlet or bay, and at its mouth six or seven farallones just as Cabrera describes them, and likewise the Punta de Reyes that rises at a distance from the sea and forms an island, as it were. And thus exactly Cabrera explains it when speaking of San Francisco; and says that this port has three ravines and that by the one in the middle an estuary flows into the land. All this was as we saw it, so that we do not doubt that it is the port of San Francisco. I took the elevation, as I said, at one side of the port, about three leagues this way. We arrived at that harbor on the eve of All Saints' Day, and we said Mass of that day and the Mass for the dead. In spite of this we explored for three days, and went on to see if we could get around the estuary.

This is not an estuary proper, but a large arm of the sea, which enters the land for at least ten leagues. At the narrowest point it must be about three leagues, and at the widest expanse it must be under four. In a word, it is a very large and fine harbor, so that not only all the navy of our Most Catholic Majesty but those of all Europe could take shelter in it. We camped about four or five leagues from the end of this estuary, about a league away from it, in a level plain which must have been at least six leagues wide, wooded with oak and some live-oak. We stopped near a good stream of water that flowed through the middle of the large plain and estuary. All the land is so very good and friable that it can not be excelled. To reach this place from the side of the port where I took the

latitude we made three marches, travelling eight leagues.*

While we were in this spot Señor Ortega and the soldiers went out to explore for four days, by order of the governor, and in those four days they were not able to get around to the other side† of this estuary, for there still remained a long distance to go from where they turned back because their time was up. As a result of this expedition we learned that at about four or five leagues from where we were the estuary ended, and that in the middle of the plain they found a river with a considerable flow of water and a bed well-wooded with different kinds of trees. It ran into the estuary and could be forded with difficulty. From this river they went forward on the other side of the estuary about eight or ten leagues, but there was still a long distance for them to go. At this distance of ten leagues they came upon another very large stream with a very strong current, and its bed was also wooded and its course was through a great plain which was also quite well wooded.‡

This great estuary or arm of the sea connects with the ocean between some high mountains which form, they say, three islands within the strait, but we could not see them from where we were because it was low. This estuary is surrounded on all sides by high mountains throughout its entire extent, so that it becomes a lake, as it were, protected from all the winds. Since this most noble estuary is

* Camp was on San Francisquito Creek, at Palo Alto.

† He means the north side.

‡ They must have gone as far north as to Niles or farther.

three leagues wide at the narrowest place throughout its whole length, it would seem that its mouth would therefore be large and that ships could enter even though they were of deep draught. I do not doubt that in time it will be possible to make soundings and to explore it. The idea that we have formed of this large and most noble port of Our Father San Francisco is that there are two, both excellent and very large, an outer one in which there are six or seven farallones, as Cabrera says; and the other, a better one, guarded from all winds, within this estuary or arm of the sea. Therefore, if the ships do not find the port of Monterey after a time, a thing I doubt completely since it was sought by so many eyes and with so much care, inasmuch as the whole undertaking depended on it, we have in place of it this fine bay of San Francisco, in which to set up the standard of the Holy Cross and from which to convert to our holy Catholic Faith the numerous friendly and kindly Indians who inhabit the land round about this estuary.

Concerning the multitude of Indians whom we have found everywhere, and concerning their gentleness and peaceableness, I will speak in particular of those of the port of San Francisco. From San Diego to that port, which is the farthest point which this land expedition reached, I may say that all the land in general is everywhere well wooded, has abundant forage and countless other kinds of herbage, and of its own accord produces as food for the numerous Indians plentiful harvests of the crops from which they make the good pinole and atole on

which they live. All the land is abundantly supplied with water from creeks and rivers, and the farther inland one goes the more abundant and frequent is the water supply. The place with the greatest lack of running water is a stretch of a few days' march, near San Diego, but where there is no running water there are great springs. If it is a country of seasonal rains, as its wooded condition goes to show, it would be possible to plant in season as is done in other places where there is no running water. The farther inland one goes the more frequent and more abundant is the running water. We found stretches of only two leagues with six or seven arroyos having good streams of running water, and in the same distance from two to three or from four to five are very common. All the water is excellent, cool and clear, since the majority of the arroyos flow from the mountains and almost all empty into the sea.

I counted twelve rivers from San Diego to San Francisco, including those at this port of San Francisco. Towns or missions could be established between San Diego and San Francisco at any distances desired, as three, four, or six leagues, or whatever you like, since there is land and to spare for it everywhere. In some places this land lacks nothing except that there is a scarcity of wood (though generally the mountain nearby has it) and of rock; but the regions that lack wood generally have the mountains nearby, and these are very well provided with fire-wood and timber. In many places the country is well supplied with herds of antelope and many rabbits.

All this land is populated with a large number of Indians who are very gentle, generous, and well-formed. The most savage natives that we have found are those of San Diego and a circle in the same neighborhood. All the others are very good, peaceable and gentle. About forty leagues from San Diego the rivers begin, and then in a space of about eight leagues there are three which flow through a very large plain. The one that has the least land must have about six or eight leagues and is very near the bay of San Pedro. The first of them, which is the most rapid and has the largest volume of water, flows ramblingly and empties into this bay, the shore of which is a plain of many leagues in extent with large streams of water. All this plain is extremely level, as is that of the third river, so that each river by itself would be able to produce grain sufficient, I do not say for cities merely, but for provinces, as well as for the people that inhabit these plains, which are as level as the palm of the hand.

On the first river, which we named *Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús de los Temblores** on account of the earthquakes that we felt when on it, there is a very large village of very friendly, gentle, peaceful natives, who offered us all their land if we would remain with them, saying that the Serranos wished to leave their mountains, that they would feed us on chia and other seeds, and that they would build us houses, and protect us. We told them that if we returned we would stay with them, and that we would make a house for God and afterwards one for

* The Santa Ana River.

ourselves, and that we would clothe them and plant for them, and also defend them from their enemies. When we said this to the one who was captain of them all, he shed tears of happiness and joy.

From here on in all the towns and villages that we came to they brought out trays of very good pinoles, atoles and tamales, not just once, but three times a day, in the morning, at noon and in the afternoon. There was a village where, besides the large amount that they divided among the soldiers and Christian Indians that came with us, they gave us a good supply of chia for lunch, for there is good chia in most places.

I have already pointed out above that there are many villages round about the estuary at the port of San Francisco. When we went there several groups came out inviting us to come to their villages, promising that they would give us food. Since we were out of our way, it was not possible to accept lest we should lose time, but we managed to satisfy them by the governor's giving them some trifles and telling them that we were going to stop at some distance, and if they wished to come they might.

Some of them who urged very strongly that we go to their villages, seeing that we offered excuses, went off on the run, and soon we saw a string of them descending from the mountain. There must have been at least sixty, some very much burdened. When they reached the path they all stopped. We came up and found that they had four very large baskets, two almost full of some very thick atoles which were similar to blanc-mange, and the two

others also nearly full of pinoles. Without doubt each one of the baskets would hold a half fanega of the seeds, which I tasted and found very good. They distributed them all to the members of the expedition.

On the 11th of November we started on the return from San Francisco to this port. For seven days we had very hot sunshine, but at the same time the cold at night-fall was insupportable. There is a great abundance of large acorns from the many oaks, and we all nearly got sick on them because there was great need of food, since the soldiers then had only tortillas, and the menestra had been finished some days before. Father Gómez and I, although the governor looked out for us as much as he could, setting aside some that he ordered kept for us, nevertheless suffered many hardships and not a little hunger. When we turned back from San Francisco we had thirty or so tierces of flour.

We reached the Point of Pines the 28th of November to explore the Sierra de Santa Lucía again, and to see if the port of Monterey had been hidden in some corner, but we did not find it. We were detained eleven days on this Point of Pines, until the 10th of December, when we left, continuing our return with only twelve tierces of flour. On the 20th of the same month we still lacked about a league of leaving that mountain, and on that day the five tierces of flour that were left were divided among all. The governor's two boxes of biscuits were divided among the leaders and us; each of us was given a ham, and with that and a bit of jerked beef

which the governor gave us every day, and the birds and bears that Don Pedro Fages and Don Miguel could get (they did us a thousand kindnesses) and the fish that they caught after we entered the channel, we got along very well in the company of those gentlemen. I hope God and our holy Father San Francisco will reward them for the kindness they showed us.

When we started for San Francisco* about twenty or so Leather-jackets became ill with the scurvy, from which some were so sick that they were finally given the last rites, but in the midst of all our hardships they suddenly recovered their health and no soldier died and no Indian of those that went on the expedition.

Friend, pardon me if this goes without any more time spent on it, as God is served. Please share it with all our companions, or if that is not possible, with those that would like this letter of mine, because this has been a sudden departure, for they said at first that they would remain until the food gave out. I hope our father lector and president will be more lengthy in telling you of what happened at San Diego on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, when the Indians came near making away with all of them. There was a bit of warfare and of our men they killed Joseph María, the father president's servant, wounded two others, and cut one of Father Vizcayno's fingers from his hand, but all the wounded have recovered. But, as I am informed, Father Vizcayno, who is going with this expedition and is returning to the College, will him-

* From Monterey.

self tell you better in a living letter of the episode that happened at this new mission of San Diego.

May God desire that the ships shall soon arrive with supplies so that they may not have to abandon it for lack of food. Up to the present it has not been possible to baptize anyone, or even to attempt to do so. Nevertheless may God, our Lord, move these wretched people to His understanding and may your Reverence commend it to His Divine Majesty so that this beginning may not be lost. When it is possible I will take a bit from the diary and send it to your Reverence. Now I beg you earnestly to keep me much in mind in your holy services, and to commend this affair to God for a happy outcome, that such a multitude of souls dwelling in the scattered regions of the North may not be lost. I have reckoned that the port of San Francisco is two hundred and ten leagues from here. It seems that the governor and Señor Ortega will remain here.

The governor has treated us with all possible courtesy and conducted himself towards all with great wisdom. Will your Reverence please thank him, a thing which will delight him greatly. He has worked hard like a true and faithful servant of the king to find the port of Monterey. He told me that he was writing to your Reverence, and in addition he charged me to beg for him from your Reverence a silver box or chest that he left at San Ygnacio and which they are keeping for him. May God guard you and keep you for many years in His divine love and favor. From this new mission and port of San Diego de Acalá. February 6, 1770.

Your affectionate friend and fellow-student, who honors you in all things, greets your Reverence.

FR. JUAN CRESPI.

The Indians have many dogs. The women wear skirts of deer-skin and bracelets of shells; they are less timid than the men and are the ones who give the most. The men go about entirely naked; they have good hair and very long, which they twist about their heads.

XI

JOSEPH FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SAN DIEGO, FEBRUARY 9, 1770.*

FURTHER SEARCH FOR MONTEREY, IN VAIN, AND THE RETURN TO SAN DIEGO

MY EVER LOVED AND HONORED FATHER:

I wrote your Reverence by means of the packet-boat *El Príncipe* last July, and among other things I informed you of my departure for the long sought Monterey. At present I cannot nor should I fail to do the same, informing your Reverence of my arrival, with a short, concise notice of our recently ended march. Therefore let me say that on the 14th day of July, at about four in the afternoon, the expedition left San Diego under the orders of Don Gaspar Portolá. It entered the Santa Bárbara Channel on the 9th of August; passed Point Concepción on the 27th of the same month; arrived at the foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía on the 13th of September; entered the Sierra on the 17th of the same month; completely finished crossing the Sierra on the 10th of October, and on that day saw the Point of Pines. The 7th of the same month the

* British Museum. Add MS. 13974. Copia de Cartas escritas por R. P.^{or} Fr. Juan Crespi.

Point of Pines and the bays to the north and south of it were explored without seeing any signs of the port of Monterey, so it was decided to go on in search of it. On the 30th of October a point which was thought to be Point Reyes and the Farallones were seen.

As seen from the port of San Francisco the Farallones are seven in number, as it appears from that distance. The expedition tried to go to Point Reyes, but by some immense estuaries that run into the land an unusual distance, and force one to make an extremely long circuit, and by other difficulties, the principal one being lack of provisions, which for days had caused us to suffer from hunger, we were forced to start on the return, thinking that perhaps the port of Monterey might be found in the region of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, and fearing that we had passed it without having seen it. Toward the last we traveled along an excellent harbor, which eight soldiers and I, who went out to explore, saw, and of which I gave a report in detail.* It extends into the land more than eighteen leagues; an arm of the sea of two, three, or four leagues in width runs in; and within there is a very large harbor between the mountains, of such a sort that it is like a box locked by many keys, which made me recognize the fact that if the depth is in proportion my master has no other like it.

Finally, on the 11th of November we left this estuary in accordance with a conference that was

* Ortega refers to the southeast arm of San Francisco Bay. His statement shows that the Portolá expedition recognized the importance of the new-found harbor.

held in regard to it and as necessity demanded, although if we had had provisions I think that we would have settled there and would have informed the superiors, since there was a harbor, good land, wood and countless Indians, although it is rather far north. The expedition left this spot on the 19th of the same month and reached the Point of Pines and the Cove* again on the 27th. From this day until the 9th of December it assiduously prosecuted the search for the port of Monterey in the region of the Sierra, skirting it along the shore in spite of the mountain and its ruggedness, but in vain.

Finally, now undeceived and in despair of finding it after so much care, hardship, and toil, with no provisions but five or six half sacks of flour, the expedition set out on the 11th of December for this port of San Diego, and having the greatest good fortune in the matter of fine weather, and using mule meat for food, arrived the 24th of January at this harbor of San Diego.

Although I think your Reverence will have special notice, I have tried to show you on my part that I wish to agree with the noble gentleman,† since he has the greatest and well-deserved confidence in your Reverence. Since a list of the latitudes seems desirable to me, I supply it hoping that your Reverence will pardon me if I am diffuse and fail in my promise of brevity.

* Monterey Bay.

† The allusion is to Gálvez.

LATITUDES OBSERVED BY ALFÉREZ OF ENGINEERS,
DON MIGUEL CONSTANZO

San Diego, at the camp occupied by the land expedition	34° 42'
The most eastern port of the Indians on the Santa Bárbara Channel	34° 15'
Point Concepción	34° 30'
Beginning of Sierra de Santa Lucía, on the south	35° 45'
Its end on the Cove of the Point of Pines	36° 36'
Point Año Nuevo	37° 04'
San Francisco, with the Farallones W ¼ NW	37° 35'
What was considered to be Point Reyes, which faced to the NW from the same spot	37° 44'

I will write still further, to tell your Reverence that all this country that we passed over is very well populated with peaceable Indians, and that on the Channel they are much more thickly settled and are by thousands. They are the most civilized, have their towns with houses in good order, and with much skill and cleverness build their sea-going canoes of wood a little over a yard in width and eight or nine in length. They make very good daily catches, and at times in greater abundance. There is much good land, with a great supply of water for fine missions. May God will to give the Most Noble* the strength to carry out so great an enterprise in the service of both majesties. From appearances one may judge that this tribe is on the highest parallel through New Mexico, for the reason that from the Channel there are many reports of people like us, some saying that seven, others twelve, others

* He refers to Gálvez.

fourteen days were necessary to reach them. We saw hunting knives, pocket knives and other hardware which they had secured from there, rosaries, and a little cloth, and blue wool. Providing they have not obtained them, as they could not easily have done, from the ships or from us, these signs lead one to believe what I have said. The fact is that right along the road the number of Indians is great, leading one to suppose that in the mountain there may well be even more, and I think that the most beautiful sites are there. May God disclose them and reward his Majesty, and may the excellent gentleman, our most noble chief, secure so great a discovery in a beautiful region as a continuous means to an evangelical harvest.

They have ordered me to remain in this camp with fifteen Leather-jackets and our commander is doing the same. I remain willingly and gratefully for a short while, to devote myself to a matter that interests me, since these Diegueños have always been lively in what they have given the camp to do, having killed the servant of the reverend father president and wounded the Reverend Father Fray Juan Vizcayno; but although there were only the two Leather-jackets and the two that came with the horse-herd, they drove them off and punished them so that they stopped that business to a considerable extent. The fact is that a good guard is needed at every establishment, since only force can conquer the greed and treachery of the Indians. I am grateful for your Reverence's kindness, and I pray God that He may spare you many years.

Camp of San Diego, February 9, 1770. Your most affectionate, grateful, and humble servant greets your Reverence.

JOSEPH FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA.

To the Most Reverend Father President, Fray Francisco Palóu.

[Endorsed:] This copy agrees with the originals which are in the archive of the Apostolic College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico; and that it may be on record I set my hand and seal. In the above-mentioned College, July 24, 1771.*

FRAY RAFAEL VERGER, Guardian.

* This endorsement applies to several letters in the file, including this document and Nos. VIII and X.

XII

MATHIAS DE ARMONA TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SANTA ANA, AUGUST 14, 1770.*

Instructions which I give to the very reverend Father President of the missions of the Californias, in the service of God and the King, moved by the zeal which I have observed in his Reverence, and in fulfillment of my duty.

1. I beg your Reverence to assume the care of supporting and aiding continually the missions and the expeditions to Monterey, making use of any property or means whatsoever, in the certain knowledge that they will be restored, and that there is no other person in this whole Peninsula able to undertake the affair, as a year of experience has proved. For this reason, I have ordered in several decrees that the old missions be reimbursed for what was taken from them, and have demanded a very careful report from Sinaloa and Sonora, in order that the necessary food and clothing may be taken from there.

2. If, in spite of what I have written in an official and in a friendly way to Don Antonio López de Toledo, he still continues in the stupid and fatal

* Archivo General y Público de Mexico. Sección de Californias, MS., Vol. 76.

course he has followed up to now since his appointment as my lieutenant *ad interim*, and if it seems to your Reverence more appropriate for the administration of justice, bringing back to Loreto the sergeant who is at San Diego, Joseph F. Ortega, I shall appoint to the position of lieutenant him or the person most distinguished and capable of rendering justice in a straight-forward way, provided this business is separated from that of the warehouse keeper, since time has shown how harmful it is for a single person to administer both the public funds and justice. For these reasons my two commissions in blank accompany these instructions.

3. Because I fear the present warehouse keeper may refuse to fulfill his obligations, obey my orders, and submit to the law, I also enclose another commission as agent in favor of Don Manuel Morales. But this is not to be presented, nor is the present agent to be deposed without first using entreaties, warnings, and threats, all aimed at making him administer the warehouse honestly and justly in favor of his Majesty, the expeditions to Monterey, and the public.

4. In case provisions and the other things necessary for the inhabitants of this province, the soldiers, and the sailors do not come from Guaimas (as we may expect from the last letters received), I beg you in the name of the King, our master, and of his Excellency, the Viceroy, to support them with what it may be possible to get from the unfortunate old missions under your charge, making note of how much is supplied, so that it may be returned in the same

kind, or in whatever is most desirable for those missions of yours, when the allowance comes.

5. Since there are no soldiers in Loreto and Santa Ana except a very few who are useless from old age and illness, on account of the new reënforcements which I have sent on the Monterey expedition, be very careful that they do not pursue the fugitive and apostate Indians of the southern missions until there is a force large enough to capture them and subdue them thoroughly. For otherwise they will be emboldened, and will incite the northern missions to follow their example, particularly those of Guadalupe and Santa Gertrudis, which have given plenty of signs of wanting to do so, as is evident from the soldiers' letters, and as will be evident to your Reverence from your missionaries' letters. If this sad event should happen, we should see ourselves without either the old or the new conquest, and with a civil war a thousand times worse than that which Sonora is suffering at present. It is not possible to send help from that province or any other under existing circumstances, nor does this Peninsula have any likelihood of being able to do what the province of Sonora did at the time of the insurrection.

6. Have the new mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá supplied with men and provisions as far as possible, both by land and by the launches in the Bay of San Luís Gonzaga, so that from there they may sustain the new conquests at San Diego and Monterey.

7. As soon as more friars arrive from Mexico, send five at once to the South to take over the mis-

sions of Santiago and San Joseph del Cabo, which are without shepherds, placing one of the five in that of Todos Santos to be a companion to the father missionary who is there alone and ill. Place two friars in each of the other missions, since it is very necessary and desirable for their souls, the temporal welfare, and the public tranquillity of those missions.

If your Reverence is willing to favor me by accepting these charges, and to make yourself responsible for them with me before the tribunal of God and the King, for whom we ought to sacrifice our hearts, will your Reverence please tell me so at the end of these entreaties, and, making a copy of them, return this paper to me for my satisfaction and security?

Camp of Santa Ana, August 14, 1770. Your Reverence's most affectionate friend,

MATHÍAS DE ARMONA (Rubric).

XIII

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO MATHIAS DE ARMONA

SANTA ANA, AUGUST 14, 1770.*

THE GOVERNOR, DON MATHÍAS DE ARMONA:

After reading and considering your Lordship's instructions and requests, I may say, with respect to God our Lord and to the King (may God keep him!), bearing in mind that they are directed to the glory of God, the welfare of the unfortunate natives, and the conversion of souls, that I promise for my part and that of all the missionary fathers of this Peninsula, to carry out all that your Lordship desires and requests of me, as far as may be possible for us and in accordance with our seraphic rule and apostolic institution, our brother syndic deciding that it is not permitted us, by the seraphic rule which I have mentioned, to act for ourselves.

As far as concerns the seventh point, I may say that, until I hear from the reverend father guardian of our College of San Fernando, I shall not be able, even if more friars are sent me, to take charge of the two towns of Santiago and San Joseph del Cabo, in the way in which the other missions of the

* Archivo General y Público de Mexico. Sección de Californias, MS., Vol. 76. This reply was written at the bottom of the foregoing instructions, as Armona requested.

Peninsula are under our care. I shall only be able to so do in case the friars whom I am expecting come before they are provided with clerics, putting in friars who will administer them *ad interim*, until they are supplied with pastors by the most illustrious bishop of Guadalaxara.

In view of this and of your Lordship's charge, I have made a copy of these instructions to direct my actions. Camp of Santa Ana, August 14, 1770.

Your Lordship's servant and affectionate chaplain, who venerates you, kisses your hand.

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

[Endorsed:] Instructions given to the Father President of the Missions, Fr. Francisco Palóu.

XIV

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO MATHIAS DE ARMONA

LORETO, OCTOBER 6, 1770.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR:

With sorrow from the depths of my heart I am about to inform your Lordship in this letter of the deplorable state in which these poor missions of the North are left by the common plague of the locust, the unusual hurricanes, and the great freshets of water that all the missions experienced from storms in the month of September, which the father companions, their missionaries, report to me.

All alike write me of the plague of the locust, which destroyed the greater part of the crops and withered the branches of the fruit trees and grapevines, so that they greatly fear that many will dry up, because they ate them down to the bark. They tried hard to drive them off. The father of the mission of San Joseph writes me that almost every day they burned all they could collect, three or four sacks full, but not even with this care were they destroyed. And the worst of the matter is that they

* Archivo General y Público de Mexico. Sección de Californias, MS., Vol. 76.

left so many young that they do not know what to do with them. We also had them here in Loreto, although they did not stay here long because there was not much for them to eat. But they left a great many of their young, so that for many days I have had several men in the little garden together with the students engaged in making ditches, in such a way that the young which cannot fly may fall into them and be killed. There is not much in the garden to destroy, but I am doing this to see if I can save the four olive trees that are there, as well as to prevent their going elsewhere to do damage. With the set-back from this plague in the missions, the want that threatens us this year from lack of grain can already be seen, unless a more extensive supply comes to us from outside than in other years.*

They had not yet got free from the plague of the locust when the hurricanes and floods of water in the streams followed, doing so much damage in all the missions that they did not leave a single dam by which to collect the water for irrigation. When the dams were full the water formed brooks through the plowed fields, carrying off the corn and even trees that the winds had uprooted, washing the soil and leaving nothing but sand where it passed. Much has been lost, and much work will be necessary to put things back into a condition to make planting possible. They are working at this with all haste,

* [In the margin:] Surely supplies will come from Guaimas and San Blas in sufficient quantity to help the missions, and they will not be abandoned. [The notes to this document, given here as footnotes, are all marginal notes in the original. Ed.]

to see if they will be able to manage to sow some wheat before the season is past.*

The worst destruction has been at the poor mission of Santa Rosalía de Mulexé, which was completely disabled, for it took away not only the dam, but also the garden, the plowed fields and the soil, leaving a sandy waste as dry as if it were the seashore. The church and living quarters escaped because they were on a high hill, but everything else was carried off. When the father missionary saw this destruction and judged it impossible to plant or make a garden on that spot, he went in person to examine a place a little over eight leagues distant, called Magdalena, to see if it were suitable to found a new mission there; or provided it were suitable for planting, to plant crops there, and keep the mission where it is, so as not to lose the church, which is vaulted and new, and also to maintain the port, which is the stopping-place for the launches going to the North, and is very useful. I am awaiting the father missionary's report of his hasty view of the Magdalena site, in order to inform your Lordship and decide what would be most suitable in view of it.†

However, in order to help in your decision, I can do no less than inform you of the state this mission

* May they continue this work and replant as much as possible, because there must be diligence on the part of men to whom God has promised fruit.

† Have them keep the mission of Mulexé, even if only with a few Indians, to help the ships that have to go to the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga; and let the rest be divided among the missions that are in a position to support them.

was in even before this calamity, so that, seeing how backward it is, you may decide intelligently about the whole matter.

When the census was taken on the arrival of the visitor-general, this mission was found to have sixty-three families with two hundred and forty-five souls. But, because of epidemics and sickness that intervened, in the census that has just been taken it is found to have only thirty-nine families with a hundred and eighty-six souls, from which it can be inferred that the mission is gradually running down. During this time, it has gone so far into debt that at the balancing of accounts made by the commissioner of the royal warehouse on the last of August of this year it was found to be in debt to the amount of nine hundred and eight pesos and three reals, besides the five hundred or more granos supplied in grain by the other missions which have aided it. The reason is that because of the epidemics and the removal of Indians for the ships, the dam could not be fully repaired the two years just before, because of which the father missionary was obliged to get corn from the royal warehouse; and having no crop except a few figs, he got as deeply in debt as I have said, and with what has happened now I consider it impossible for him ever to get out.

As to the debt of the mission, in accordance with one of the decrees of his Lordship the Visitor-General, in which he says that the missions which have plenty shall aid the needy, if it appears that this aid is regarded as alms, I shall put it down as such, and it will thus be free from debt. As far as con-

cerns the debt to the royal warehouse with which it is charged, if he is willing to credit it with the value of the seventeen mules broken to harness and the three horses taken by the captain of the expedition to Monterey, the debt will be less, although it is not enough to pay it entirely.

Since the state of the mission is such, your Grace will see that it is not strong enough to be put again on a sound basis, because now it would cost a great deal to move it, to arrange for planting at the Magdalena site, and to support it in the interval before the fruits of the work are gathered.*

Considering this and what has happened in the nearby mission of Guadalupe, which has only forty-nine families with a hundred seventy-six souls, whereas in the census taken by the order of his Lordship, the Visitor-General, it had a hundred twenty-eight families with five hundred forty-four souls, and because of the small number that remain there are not enough, I have thought of suggesting to your Grace that it might be well for the families of Mulexé to go to live at the mission of Guadalupe, which would then be a fair-sized mission, and that the site of Mulexé be abandoned, although in this decision I bear in mind the lack of people there will be at Mulexé for the ships that are going and coming to the North to aid the new missions. Moreover, there is the consideration that the Mulexé people

* Let the missions which are creditors of Mulexé remit the debt and aid it further, in accordance with the decree of the Illustrious Visitor-General cited. Let the royal warehouse credit it with the value of the horses it gave the expeditions, and continue to trust it for supplies needed for the short time of its present want.

are coast Indians and will resent being taken from the shore. Notwithstanding all this, your Grace will decide what you consider best, and for my part I will do what I can in the service of both majesties.

I pray the Divine Spirit to preserve the important life of your Lordship the many years that I desire. From this royal presidio and mission of Loreto, October 6, 1770. I kiss the hand of your Lordship. Your servant and chaplain who venerates you,

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XV

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

MEXICO, NOVEMBER 9, 1770.*

MY DEAR SIR:

When it is time for the pearl fishing, or rather, if you will make arrangements as soon as possible to have one or two canoes fitted out for that purpose, I shall greatly appreciate it if your Reverence will take care to procure and buy those that turn out to be the best in form, the largest and the most exquisite in size and quality. Since I have this commission from the Princess of the Asturias, it is absolutely essential to use the most vigorous means for obtaining pearls of that kind, your Reverence being sure that they are not bored or pierced, for you are to buy and send those only in case there are no others, and that they are very remarkable for quality and size.

If under the same circumstances some large gourd-shaped ones† are found during the fishing, and are of good luster for pendants for her Highness, your Reverence may send them to me, with

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

† Calabacitas.

the bill for what they cost and the value of both, giving me meanwhile your Reverence's opinion as to the chances for obtaining such pearls and calabacitas, their quality and price, according to what experience in the Peninsula has shown. As to the price you may arrange with the royal commissioner, or whoever has charge of the interests of that department.

May Our Lord keep your Reverence the many years that I pray. Mexico, November 9, 1770.

My dear sir: I warn you that this commission is confidential and private, and therefore should not be made public. But I trust to your Reverence's discretion, notifying you that I am making the same request of the new governor, Don Felipe Barry, who is going to take command of that Peninsula.

Your Reverence's most affectionate servant,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

The Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.

XVI

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

MEXICO, NOVEMBER 12, 1770.*

MY DEAR SIR:

The words with which your Reverence expressed the joy merited by the important news of the happy discovery and occupation of Monterey in your letter of last July 28, justly deserve my greatest appreciation. I thank your Reverence and the other missionary fathers most cordially for everything, and from your religious zeal I expect the complete success of so sacred a task. For this purpose, as your Reverence will see from his letters, his Excellency the Viceroy made with my approval the most effective arrangements for the assistance of the Peninsula, the relief of the missionary fathers, and finally, for the establishment of new missions in as short a time as possible and with the greatest advantages possible. The new governor, Don Felipe Barri, a person of proved ability and zeal, with whom I promise myself your Reverence will be in the greatest harmony, is especially charged with this matter.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

Your Reverence's news of the favorable condition of the new mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá at that date was of especial consolation to me. I trust that out of consideration for the devotion and the fervent prayers of your Reverence and the other missionary fathers the other missions have enjoyed a similar success.

May God keep your Reverence many years.
Mexico, November 12, 1770.

My esteemed Father President: Your Reverence will see that besides having procured complete equipment for the best observance of worship in the new missions, I have made it my special care that an especially rich vestment be sent to that church of our Most Holy Patroness of Loreto. I am unable to write fully on this subject today, and I will only add that another elaborate and complete vestment is being sent for San Carlos de Monterey. Will your Reverence make my excuses to my beloved Father Ramos for not having written him on this occasion and tell him that I will do so by the next ship, which is going to take the new governor, with whom your Reverences will be well pleased, as time will prove. Finally, he will bring instructions and power to settle disturbances if there are any, as I fear.

Your Reverence's most affectionate servant,

JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Reverend Fray Francisco Palóu.

[Endorsed:] November 12, 1770.

XVII

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO
PALOU

MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 15, 1771.*

Confidential.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND:

In view of the fact that I hope to undertake my journey to Spain at the beginning of next year, I charge your Reverence to send me without loss of time, by the hand of my friend Don Felipe Barri, any fine pearls you may have secured in this year's catch, or by the care that your interest suggests in negotiations with Don Manuel Ozio, which I ordered to take to the Princess, our Lady. I am instructing him to get them and pay their value on my account, sending a bill for their total cost, to be paid here before my departure from the kingdom.

Although it may be unnecessary, I again assure your Reverence that you will everywhere find sincere the friendship that I claim. I do not want to let slip this occasion for a sincere expression of it, that you may express it in my name to the other reverend fathers, and especially to our mutual friend Father Ramos, commending me to the prayers

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

and petitions of all, which I am sure they will make to the Lord and our Most Holy Patroness of Loreto, to the end that they may bear me safely to Madrid, where as long as I live I shall be proud to serve as an advocate for this Peninsula and the conversion of the numerous friendly Indians of the North.

May God keep your Reverence, and command me, my friend, in whatever is your pleasure, in the perfect assurance that no one loves or esteems you more cordially than your affectionate servant and friend, who kisses your hand.

JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

To the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu,
Loreto.

[Endorsed:] Señor Gálvez asks for pearls and promises his protection. September 15, 1771.

XVIII

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO FRAY RAFAEL VERGER

MISSION SAN CARLOS, NOVEMBER 21, 1773.*

JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH!

VERY REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN, FRAY RAFAEL
VERGER: MY REVEREND FATHER AND DEAR SIR:

About the middle of September of the present year I wrote to your Reverence from the mission of San Diego of my fortunate arrival at that mission, in company with the fathers who left California for these new missions, and of the places to which they were sent. On the 26th of September I left San Diego and on the 14th of the present month arrived at this mission of San Carlos on the Carmelo River. The journey lasted so long, not only because of the extent of the country, but because I stopped in each one of the missions for the purpose of informing myself about everything, so as to be able to make the report that his Excellency the Viceroy requested in the decree of the council, and that your Reverence asked for in your letter of the 24th of June of last year. I shall try to make the report as soon as the courier by whom

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

this letter will go leaves for California. I shall write more at leisure by the vessels if God permits them to arrive, for we are in great danger here from want of food as well as of clothes.

The captain* has treated us very well, since he not only sent to me in California saddle and pack mules to carry the friars, but to San Diego also he sent me provisions and other things necessary for coming to this mission; and although it was not possible for him to come down in person to San Diego, because he could not leave the presidio, he did go as far as the mission of San Lu  s, whence he accompanied us to this mission. And he has acted in a most friendly fashion, offering me not only the property of the presidio and all the assistance that it affords, but also his friendly co  peration, informing me that his Excellency so charges him. I hope that it will be so and that what happened in California will not occur here.†

As far as I can learn, the letters that you tell me about in your communications have not arrived. Without doubt they are coming in the ships, which have not yet reached here. I have not spoken of the cows and other cattle, not only because I have just arrived, but on account of the lack of supplies, and because the milk is helping in the preservation of the presidio; but I do not think that any difficulty will offer, from what I can see. Of this I shall inform your Reverence by the ships. As for the founding of the mission of San Francisco, we shall go to establish it as soon as possible, since the captain

* Fages is referred to here.

† Pal  u here refers to his troubles with Barry on the Peninsula.

tells me the same as his Excellency, and the two of us have come to an agreement that, if we conclude that the port is on the other side of the Bay of the Farallones, and that it is impossible to cross over because the great rivers hinder us, we shall try to establish it on this side, so that somehow or other what was undertaken may be brought about and this mission be founded on the harbor.*

Although I do not now have an opportunity to make the report on the state of the missions, which I shall try to send with the ships, nevertheless, to give your Reverence some general information in the meantime, I will tell you the principal things I observed when I stopped at them all.

The mission of San Diego had eighty-three baptized Indians counting big and little, twelve of them married, and thus there were twelve families with the number of seventy-six persons, although it may be that some of those recently baptized have already died. They greatly needed food, although it may be that they have by now received help from California. With the drove that was sent for that purpose they were plowing the land to sow five fanegas of wheat, and more will be sown if the seed that I asked from the fathers at Villacatá arrives.

The mission of San Gabriel had, between big and little, seventy-three baptized Indians, though of these two little ones have died. No marriage had been solemnized. They were not in want because they had just harvested twenty-three fanegas of

* Till this time they were hoping to establish San Francisco on Drake's (Old San Francisco) Bay.

corn and there was more to harvest. They hoped to harvest another hundred fanegas more or less. They had just finished harvesting six fanegas of beans from the little that they planted. They were continuing to clear the land to plant eight fanegas of wheat, and when this was done they were going to clear land to make an extensive planting of corn and beans, which they will easily be able to do with the greater part of the families of Indians that came with us from California, and were left there for this purpose, considering the ease with which that mission can secure fields for planting.

The mission of San Luís Obispo as yet had only twelve baptized, one of whom died just after baptism, and they had not yet had any marriages. This mission was not in want since, besides the abundance of seeds which it gets from the land, they were about to harvest a cornfield of a little over two almuds, and since all of it is corn they did not fail to garner thirty fanegas or more. They had also about three fanegas of beans, a crop raised from the small amount of land which they planted. There the other half of the California families were left, because the land and water is not less abundant there than at San Gabriel. I left them breaking the ground to sow eight fanegas of wheat, and in the proper season they will plant an equal amount of corn and some beans.

The mission of San Antonio de Pádúa already had a hundred and fifty-eight baptized Indians, of whom eight had died, and fifteen neophytes married to fifteen neophyte girls, and three neophyte girls

married to three Leather-jackets, who are living very contentedly at the mission. I found this mission in great need because it had the misfortune of having its cornfield frosted, and so they are reduced to wild seeds and acorns until help comes from the ship. They were getting the ground ready to sow two fanegas of wheat, and hereafter they will plant corn earlier than last year to avoid the very heavy frosts which fall. They will do the same with the crop of beans.

This mission of San Carlos on the Carmelo River, I found, has baptized a hundred and sixty-two Indians, counting children and adults, of whom eleven have died, and they have solemnized twenty-six marriages of neophytes with neophyte girls, besides three of Indian women who have married three soldiers from the Catalonian volunteers, and another a servant. This mission is in equal or even greater need than San Antonio, because the field of corn was not a success, for the same misfortune as the preceding. They have the land ready to sow five fanegas of wheat at the first rain, and afterwards they will make an equal or larger planting of corn and some beans. I shall tell you in detail of the rest in my report, to whomsoever I send it, and as soon as the establishment of the three remaining missions takes place I shall inform your Reverence.

All the friars enjoy health and happiness. Father Fray Domingo Juncosa, who, I wrote, had become discouraged and requested permission to retire, now tells me that he is ready to continue in

the service, and I have told him that I praised God for it. We are all in need of habits, tunics, cloaks, mantles, coats, girdles, underwear and sandals. I hope that aid will come for us on the ships, including snuff and chocolate, and all the other things that your Reverence may judge necessary.

I am not writing to my very reverend father and president, Fray Junípero Serra, because I think he is now on the road, in view of what he told me in his last letters. For this reason I am not writing to him, but if by some chance he has not left, I shall ask him to consider this letter as his own, and to make out the consignment in case he knows what these missions lack. I send to all the reverend fathers and brothers my best wishes, and commend myself to their prayers. I pray God that he may keep your Reverence for many years. From this mission of San Carlos, on the Carmelo River at Monteréy, November 21, 1773.*

Your Reverence's most humble servant,

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

* This letter and the next two form the basis of considerable portions of the report which Palóu wrote on the New California missions in December, 1773. See Vol. III, pp. 213-240.

XIX

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO FRAY RAFAEL VERGER.

MISSION SAN CARLOS, NOVEMBER 26, 1773.*

VERY REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN FRAY RAFAEL
VERGER: MY HONORED FATHER GUARDIAN:

I arrived at this last mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the 14th of this month, and find that I have to report the bad news that these last two missions and the royal presidio are in serious want from lack of food because no ship has come. What troubles us most is that it is feared by the captain that if the barks should come the sailors will not wish to take the trouble to come up to this camp, but will stop at San Diego and want to rest there, as both barks will desire to do. They dislike very much even to have one come up. Now if they do not wish to come up, it would be the same for these missions up the coast as if help had not come, for it is impossible to bring the supplies and provisions by land, since as soon as the rains begin the roads become impassable until April or May, and moreover, because there are no mules for the journey. I have written to the fathers at San Diego

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

to speak to the captain of the first ship that comes, begging him to do his best to bring a cargo up to Monterey. I do not know whether it can be done or not, even by acquainting them with the need and the impossibility of bringing them by land.

I am writing this to your Reverence for help not for this year but for those to come, so that if it seems advisable you may speak to his Excellency on this point, bearing in mind that the sailors easily find excuses for not coming, even though they leave San Blas with orders to come to Monterey. There is not time for me to get aid for this year. Even though it were agreed that they should come to Monterey and leave their cargo for this mission of San Carlos and that of San Antonio, afterward they ought to go down to the Bay of Buchón* and leave the freight belonging to the mission of San Luís, which is only three short leagues distant and on a good road. From there they should go to the Bay of San Pedro, opposite the mission of San Gabriel, which is only about eight leagues from the beach, all by level road, and from there they should go to the port of San Diego. In this way the transportation of supplies would be made easy. Whereas at present it is so difficult from lack of mules, and the numerous Indians who have to be passed at a risk of losing everything, and because in the rainy season traveling is impossible.

I hope that your Reverence will do your best to obtain from his Excellency this arrangement which is so desirable for the good of all these missions,

* San Luís Obispo Bay.

and that you will be rewarded by God, whom I pray to spare your Reverence's life the many years which I desire. From this mission of San Carlos on the Carmelo River, November 26, 1773.

Your Reverence's most humble servant,

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XX

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO FRAY JUNIPERO SERRA

MISSION SAN CARLOS, NOVEMBER 26, 1773.*

HAIL JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH!

VERY REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT, FRAY JUNÍPERO
SERRA; MY HONORED AND ESTEEMED FATHER
PRESIDENT:

On the 24th of May I left the presidio of Loreto and set out for Mulegé, and from there I continued on that stony road until all the missions were delivered. I stopped to rest and give the animals time to recover in a place called Viñaraco,† a day's journey from Villacatá, in company with Fathers Murguía, Lazuén, Prestamero, Fuster, and Amurrio, and ten families of married people from California with twelve unmarried children.

On the 3d of August, after having obtained sacred indulgence, we started, and all arrived without the slightest misfortune at the mission of San Diego on the 30th of that month. I had the pleasure of baptizing eight Indians on the 8th of September, to make happy the day of Our Lady of Loreto, and

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. II.

† Mission N. S. del Rosario was later founded here by the Dominicans.

the following Sunday Father Murguía baptized seven, so we considered the hardship of the journey well repaid. For the purpose of waiting for a reply to a post which I had sent to the captain, I stopped at that mission until the 26th of September, when I set out on a new journey, leaving Father Fray Luís Fuster in charge at San Diego and Father Amurrio as supernumerary. The latter came for the purpose of remaining if necessary, otherwise of embarking at San Diego for San Blas, and for this same purpose came all the others except the four named by the College. Since Father Peña had asked me for permission to leave that mission, I took him for those farther up, judging that there was nothing to do in San Diego, and since he was not a companion. With him and the other fathers I left for San Gabriel, where I arrived on October 2, and where we celebrated the Feast of Our Holy Patriarch with all the ceremony possible, with a solemn High Mass, and a sermon with full service in the evening. I found the fathers happy, with no talk of going back to the College. Father Paterna said nothing at all about it to me, and Father Cruzado only told me that he had asked permission from the reverend father guardian and was waiting for the reply, and that if the decision permitting him to go should not come he would remain, although he is not very well satisfied with Father Paterna, or he with him, because their dispositions are somewhat inharmonious. I made no suggestions because I know how much the Indians love Father Cruzado, who already understands them very well, and that

speaking to Father Paterna would be the same as telling him to go back to the College. It seemed best to me not to say or suggest the least thing, but to leave Father Lazuén there, besides Father Figuer whom I found there, telling them to stay there to await the founding of San Buenaventura or Santa Clara.

In the mission of San Diego I left one of the California families so that the woman might teach those there to spin wool and weave. At San Gabriel I left five families and half of the bachelors, so that they might plant a good field of wheat and afterwards of corn and beans, both for this mission and to aid San Diego, and so that there might be some for the founding of San Buenaventura or Santa Clara. I was moved to this by seeing the land so good and such an abundance of water, together with the ease with which it could be done.

We set out on the 11th of October, and on the 25th arrived at San Luís, where I left the other half of the families and bachelors for the same purpose as I left them at San Gabriel, inasmuch as the land and water are no less abundant. Father Juncosa had already written me two letters requesting permission to go back to the College and he made the same request when I arrived. In view of this I left Father Murguía in charge, together with Father Cavaller, and Fathers Prestamero and Peña as supernumeraries, since this mission has enough to maintain them and they will be ready, if they actually establish the missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Clara.

On the 4th of November, after saying Mass for San Carlos, I started with Father Juncosa for the mission of San Antonio, where I arrived at night on the 6th, and where I found the two fathers in charge with Father Ussón, and thus with the third the Father Fray Miguel has the consolation he desired. I found they had moved the mission half a league farther up the same valley to the bank of an arroyo that has a good stream of water so that they have enough for planting. I found that they have living quarters of adobe made with mortar, with roof of mortar and with sufficient rooms. One of them is now used for a church while they are attending to building one. They are very well satisfied. Father Ussón remained as supernumerary until the founding of Our Father San Francisco, to which he wishes to accompany me.

On the 10th, in the afternoon, I left this mission with Father Juncosa, and on the 13th I arrived at the royal presidio, where we were received with many cheers and salutes. The following day I said Mass and made a talk. On the 14th in the afternoon I reached this mission, thanks be to God, without having had the least misfortune in so long a trip, which only lacked ten days of lasting a whole half year. I found the fathers well and happy. They are making a church forty yards long and nine wide, all of wood, thatched with tule and straw, which will be completed in a short while. They told me in explanation that there are many people but that the land is not good for adobe bricks, and that the tiles do not withstand the great amount of rain. We shall take care to make adobe bricks and cement.

His Excellency, the Viceroy, in the decree in which he approves the complete surrender made by the reverend father-general of the missions of California in favor of the reverend Dominican fathers, charges that every year a report be made to him of the new missions, the condition they are in, their progress and improvements. In order to make this report, at each mission I took notes of its condition, but to make a clear copy will require some work and so it can not go now. I will make it more at leisure and will send it by the ship, for this is going through California by a courier whom the captain is sending. Nevertheless, if your Reverence wishes to make the report as president of these missions, since you are so well informed about them, and since I enclose my notes on the condition of the missions at the time when I passed, you will be able to do so.

Mission of San Diego, September 26, 1773

It had eighty-three baptized, counting old and young, of whom seven had died; twelve were married, all of them neophytes. Your Reverence knows what buildings there are. Besides those they have laid the foundations for a church of adobe. For it they have collected some stone and have about four thousand adobe bricks made. The crops have not been successful, as your Reverence knows, and there is a lack of irrigation. They were breaking ground about two leagues from the mission farther up the valley because they say it rains more there, and if it is necessary it will be possible to irrigate it. They intend to sow five fanegas of wheat, the

entire amount they raised last year. They were greatly in need of food supplies. They had forty head of cattle, counting big and little; four saddle mules, eighteen for carrying burdens, three of them very old, and two mules, now running wild ready to be broken; four burros; sixty-four head of sheep, big and little; fifty-five head of goats, big and little; nineteen hogs; fifteen mares; two fillies; two this season's colts and an older colt; a stallion and eight horses already broken.

Mission of San Gabriel, October 10, 1773

It had seventy-three baptized, counting children and adults, of whom two infants died. No marriages have been celebrated. Your Reverence already knows the buildings, to which they have added only a house for a granary, made of wood thatched with tules, and they were making ten houses of the same materials for the California Indians.

About a league from the mission in the spot called El Aliso they broke ground for a fanega and a half of corn and planted eight almuds in it, since that was all the seed they had. It bore well; they had harvested about an almud, yielding twenty-one fanegas. They were about to harvest the rest and, as things were, it would not be under a hundred fanegas. They planted about four almuds of beans and reaped about seven fanegas. With this little harvest they are not in want. In the mission they are arranging a good supply of water so as to plant a large amount of corn in the proper season. In the place called El Aliso they were going to sow about

eight fanegas of wheat, which will very easily be done with the Indians whom I left there.

They have thirty-eight head of cattle between full-grown and young, four mares, a filly, a stallion, five horses, sixteen saddle and pack mules, one of them very old; thirty head of sheep, twelve goats, and twenty hogs.

Mission of San Luís, November 3, 1773

They had baptized twelve children of whom one died, and there had been no marriages. The buildings within the stockade are: a small church twenty yards long, made of wood thatched with tule; and a house twenty yards long, of the same materials, for living quarters for the fathers; an office, a granary, and a kitchen all of wood and tule. Outside of the stockade were two houses for the heathen and the new Christians. They were making houses for the Californians whom I brought and whom I left at this place so that they might make some good corn-fields.

During the month of June of this year two and a half almuds of corn, all the seed they had, were planted. They were about to harvest it, and according to the condition of the fields the crop would not be under forty fanegas. They planted a small jarful of beans and harvested a little more than two fanegas for seed. Because of this little harvest they are not in want, for the Indians' seeds are helping them out. They were about to sow eight fanegas of wheat, and in the proper season they will make a good planting of corn to help the others out.

They had forty-one head of cattle, no sheep or goats, four mares and a stallion, four horses, fourteen pack mules and two saddle mules, and five pigs.

Mission of San Antonio, November 7, 1773

It had baptized a hundred and fifty-eight Indians, counting children and adults, of whom eight recently baptized had died. Fifteen neophyte girls had married neophytes, and three had married Leather-jackets. They are living very contentedly at the mission.

Because there was no water in the spot where the mission was founded, since the river ran dry, they moved it a half league farther up the valley of Los Robles to the bank of the arroyo named San Miguel, which had a good stream of water during this month, which is the driest. The moving was finished during the month of July just past. They now have living quarters of adobe with a flat roof of tiles. This building is thirty-three yards long and eight wide with three divisions, one room serving for the present as a church, another for living quarters, and the third as an office. Besides this they have two other houses of wood with adobe tiles, one for a dwelling for the girls and the other for a kitchen. Near the mission are three houses in which the three soldiers married to Indian girls live apart from the guard, and on the other side is the village of the Christians and catechumens, all very happy. In this new place they planted a little corn, which was frosted from being out of season. They were going to plant two fanegas of wheat, which was the

only thing they had, and in the proper season they will plant corn and beans. They have the ground for planting close to the mission, and water likewise. They are in need, making out with the few acorns and the small amount of seeds that there were this year. Have the ship come as soon as possible to help them.

It has thirty-eight head of cattle, no sheep and goats, four mares, a young stallion, eleven saddle and pack mules, four horses, two of them very old. It has about thirty hogs.

Mission of Carmelo, November 25, 1773

It has baptized a hundred and sixty-two Indians, between children and adults, and of those eleven died just after baptism. Twenty-six neophyte girls have married neophytes and three have married volunteer soldiers. One lives at the mission and the other two at the camp. Another girl married a servant who lives at the mission. Your Reverence already knows what buildings there are. Only a church has been added, forty yards long and nine wide, of wood thatched with tule. This is being finished with the intention of dedicating it on Christmas Eve.

They planted as a trial about two almuds of wheat from which they harvested five fanegas which they are going to plant. The land is ready. They also planted a little corn as a test and some was raised, although not so much as if they had obtained the seed earlier. The blame for this is due to the orders given by the governor of Loreto that nothing should be sent from California to these missions,

and this has certainly been a detriment to the missions. May God pardon him!

It has forty-seven head of cattle, between little and big, and the cows will soon calve, the same as is true in the other missions. It has four mares, a stallion, four horses, ten pack mules and two saddle mules. It has no sheep or goats, but it has twenty-eight head of swine, counting little and big.

Captain Don Pedro Fages gave the mission of San Buenaventura, by order of his Excellency the Viceroy, eighteen head of cattle between large and small, and these were placed in the mission of San Gabriel until its establishment should take place. These have increased to thirty-eight head, the number which existed at the beginning of October of this year, and with this year's young there will be a good many more. For this mission his Excellency gave two pack mules and one saddle mule, with two old horses, and also two hogs and two sows, all young. Today there are twenty-two head, all of which will be available whenever they get ready to found the new mission of San Buenaventura.

The stock of the missions of Santa Clara and Our Father San Francisco are in the possession of the captain, and according to what the fathers say they have increased like the rest. They also say that they wish to keep the increase, after having had the advantage of the milk all the time. Not being satisfied with the milk from the greater part of the stock, which was used for the presidio and has been increasing, from time to time they have not hesitated to kill a bull to use the meat, although the fact is that the friars in charge of the missions

do not dare to do so, in order that the cattle may increase. The fathers tell me that your Reverence went away charged to ask his Excellency concerning this point, that he hand over to the fathers what was going to be sent to found these missions, together with the increase and young that had been produced. Up to the present I have not said a word to the captain in order that there might not be any trouble, and that he might not have the petition to complain of, which is not desirable, but instead that there be good harmony. Thus your Reverence will see how to lay it before his Excellency.

It is my intention to be everywhere and to be on the watch everywhere until your Reverence returns. Then I shall speak, and if perchance it happens in the meantime that the eighteen head are handed over to me, which is the same number that was given to them for each of the missions when they were sent, I will take them and give a receipt, setting down a protest for the amount of the increase, because I do not think there is any help here. If the order does not come from Mexico I hope that they may be given over. The milk would do to make up for what is lacking, since there is want here, although it exists in the same way at the camp, which might be helped out by the same means.

To Vellicatá the captain sent me a drove of mules to aid in the transportation from San Luís, and to San Diego immediately after my arrival he sent me without my asking two tierces of flour and four of chocolate, of which we were to leave a little at each of the missions since all were in need. He came to meet me at San Luís and has accompanied me as

far as this mission. Up to the present he has conducted himself with a fine show of affection, and I have reciprocated, although always with reserve, bearing in mind what he did to your Reverence. With regard to the other things and the want that I am in for the things from California, he has told me many times that he was wrong because he had not had experience, but that henceforth he would not interfere in the mission affairs; that he wished harmony, and that he had been so charged by his Excellency; and I told him that it would not be destroyed by me. Up to the present I have not offered to take up any point because he is occupied in writing to his Excellency, because he has received orders, and I have likewise been engaged at the same task, writing to the missions, and the letters that are going to the College. As soon as this post leaves I shall set myself to making the report for his Excellency, but if your Reverence should be willing to undertake the work, I should appreciate it very much, since it seems to me that in this letter I am mentioning all the necessary points. I understand that writing it will cost you much labor, but there are no lack of scribes in the College, therefore it would be done in good form, and your report might serve as a model for others. I write all this fearing that you are no longer in the College, for, alas for the wasted time! your Reverence may be in the country before this leaves it.

I have come here because of what your Reverence wrote me by the hand of Father Echaso from the monastery of Guadalupe, begging me to come, and

using Most Holy Mary and the wounds of our Holy Father San Francisco as intercessors, telling me that if God did not take your life, you would return so that we might end our days together. I have done what your Reverence begged, and I hope that you will carry out what you promised me, and if this cannot be, that we shall surely see each other in a short while, for if it had not been for that letter I should now be in that sacred retreat.

I see that three missions out of the eight ordered still have to be founded, and I do not find the necessary guards. I have already spoken to Don Pedro, and he tells me that he has asked the governor for soldiers, and that so far from sending them, they have rather kept those that got as far as Villacatá, if they were of any consequence, and send the boys and the good-for-nothings who only serve to lose what has been gained. At present it seems to me that the number at the presidios and missions does not come up to forty, and the majority do not know how to load their guns. Please see, your Reverence, whether this matter can be helped or not.

I have arranged with the captain that we shall go to explore from the Punta de las Almejas to the mouth of the estuary on this side of Point Reyes to found the mission of Our Father, since it was not possible to cross to the other side when this mission was founded. I have written to Father Lazuén to go to the Valley of Santa Clara* to examine the spot they called La Novia, which is twelve leagues from

* This is the Santa Clara Valley east of Ventura, in Southern California. La Novia was near Castac. See Crespi's diary, Vol. II, 141-142.

San Gabriel and fourteen from La Assumpta, which Father Crespi tells me is the proposed site, so that when there are enough soldiers that mission may be founded. I saw the Assumpta site and it seemed very desirable to me. I observed that there is no lack of sites on the channel for the three missions. There is also a good site on the Río Grande de Santa Rosa, up the valley. Between San Diego and San Gabriel there is room for two. As soon as your Reverence is here we can take up these points, provided the College does not say *operaris autem pauci*, "the workers are still too few," since it seems that those who wished to leave have already repented, for Father Juncosa has just told me that he is willing to remain provided he has an experienced companion from the old group. I answered that I relied on God to see the arrangements that are coming from Mexico.

Your Reverence knows what is lacking in these missions, not only for the churches and buildings but for the friars, and so bring chiefly habits, tunics, and cloaks, chocolate, and snuff, since in all this country there is no snuff, and they console themselves with cress from the spring. I do not need to speak of the rest.

I am tired of writing, and so I close, begging you not to forget me and to come as soon as possible, but bringing all the points settled. Otherwise do not come, for I shall go away, because I am not going to struggle with punctilious officials who destroy everything here and make themselves kings. In my behalf, please give greetings to all from first to last,

and tell Father Ramos not to forget me, for I do not forget him. All the fathers commend themselves to your Reverence, and I pray God to spare your life for many years.

From this mission of San Carlos on the Carmelo River, November 26, 1773.

Your Reverence's affectionate pupil, who loves you in Jesus. FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

Sergeant Puix has requested me to enclose these letters, so that they may be sure to reach the persons addressed.

XXI

FATHERS PALOU AND CAMBON TO PEDRO FAGES

SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY 8, 1783.*

Copy of the letter that was written to the Governor Don Pedro Fages in reply to the one he had written asking to have Mass said at the presidio of Our Father San Francisco.

GOVERNOR DON PEDRO FAGES:

My Honored Sir: We received your letter in which you tell us that the clamoring of the inhabitants of that presidio causes you to beg us to continue going as before to say Mass on all feast days and to administer the holy sacraments, and that we shall receive the reward, etc., for the work of God.

To this we reply with proper consideration that from the foundation, which is more than six years ago, in spite of the small number of persons who compose the presidio, and of our advanced age, we have undertaken the task of going every Sunday and every feast day to say Mass for them, without heeding the continual wind, fogs and cold that exist all the year, getting wet not a few times in the season of the rains, and suffering all this with no gain except the reward we hope from God. How-

* Archivo General y Público de Mexico. Sección de Californias, MS., Vol. 12.

ever, when we learned that they wished to deprive us of this merit and reward we stopped undertaking this task.

From the arrival of your predecessor, Don Felipe de Neve, as governor of this new province, he gave us plenty of reasons to do what we finally put into practice, namely, ceasing to go to the presidio to say Mass, and giving the inhabitants the trouble of coming to hear Mass at the mission. First, shortly after his arrival he ordered the keeper of the warehouse not to furnish us the weekly ration that had been given us from the foundation, by provision of the regulation that was in force from the first of January, 1774, offering as a reason that it was founded after that regulation. He wrote the same to us, adding that we ought to pay for what we had received in the nearly two years that had passed since the founding of the mission, and also that he had made the same statement to the missionary fathers of the other two missions founded at the same time, called Santa Clara and San Juan Capistrano.

We thereupon replied to him that as we saw it the regulation was made not only for the two presidios founded before the regulation, but also for those recently founded, and that it should likewise be put into effect in the three missions founded after the regulation, because it did not seem to us that there was any reason for depriving these three newest missions of the benefit of the rations which the regulation granted, especially because his Lordship did not deprive them of the aid of the six

servants that the regulation grants, paying their salary and rations at the expense of the royal treasury in the same manner that the five missions founded before the regulation enjoy; and that we did not understand why we missionaries in charge of these missions should be deprived of the rations that are a part of the stipend, as the regulation says, and are not charged to the king but to the Pious Fund; and that if it was given to the settlers and servants who came after the regulation, with greater justice it should be given to us, since we were settlers and laborers working in person to put the mission on a firm footing, as is clear to you, besides caring for those of the presidio, and assuming the task of going to say Mass for them without the slightest obligation or recompense; and that for the above reasons and because this help results in the conversion of many Indians whom we could not continue to instruct in the catechism without the ration, we hoped this order would be revoked and that the ration would be ordered continued for us for the time that the regulation states.

He answered us that the decision did not rest with him, and since it was not stated in the regulation that it included missions already founded and to be founded (paying no attention to the fact that neither does it say presidios already founded and to be founded) that he would consult the commander-general. In spite of the fact that his reply came, to the effect that the rations had been given properly (a reply which he communicated to the reverend father president, who told him, "Well, sir, since the

commander has decided that the rations were properly given they should be continued until the five years are up") he replied that he did not order them continued, inasmuch as the commander-general had only written that they were properly given.

Seeing that we could not accomplish anything with this gentleman, we appealed to the reverend father guardian and he to the viceroy, Don Martín de Mayorga. His Excellency under date of March 29, 1780, wrote to the commander-general, the Caballero de Croix, that in view of the benefits that might be expected, etc., he should continue supplying us with rations as he had been doing, in virtue of the decision expressed in the regulation. In spite of all this our rations were not continued, nor did we cease going to say Mass (although the commander of the presidio feared that we would and it appears that he hinted this fear to the governor), but continued without the least change, doing so only through hope of a reward from God.

A few days after he stopped the ration he sent orders to the corporal of the mission that the soldiers were not to guard the few horses that the mission then had with the horses belonging to the troops, saying that they were under no obligation to do so. For this reason they were scattered at the will of the Indians, and it cost us much effort to find some one to bring us horses for going to hear confessions and to say Mass at the presidio. Not for this did we stop going, although it did not fail to occur to us that if the soldiers were under no obligation we were under still less. Neither did

we stop for the fact that he made us pay for the letters by the post that he started, forbidding them to take or bring a letter for any father, although the couriers were the soldiers themselves, and it did not cost the king the slightest amount for the mail. Neither would he allow any Indian or soldier who was going from one mission to another without the regular mail to carry letters, under pain of the penalties that he imposed, the result being that we served the soldiers in all spiritual matters without the least recompense.

It occurred to us that the Indians in the province of Huasteca had made an arrangement with their curates to serve them free of cost on whatever mail happened to be sent, and to carry messages, in return for which all Indian burials were performed without charge and without any fee. Now we not only performed all burials, marriages, and baptisms without cost, the mission paying for the wax and we having the work of going to say Mass at the presidio, but they could make no return for all this by carrying a mere letter, without the pain of being punished, unless we paid for its carriage, although it was decided by the royal council of war held on May 6, 1773, and approved by his Excellency, Don Antonio María Bucareli, on the 12th of the same month and year, that letters should be carried free for us and without any cost for postage. But in spite of all this we did not stop going to say Mass.

Neither were we stopped by what your predecessor did to one of us two, that is, Father Cambón, who was at the presidio of Santa Bárbara serving

as chaplain to the troop for a considerable period until he came up to continue as minister of this mission. When he was about to leave, the commander of that presidio, Don Josef Francisco de Ortega, told him that he had orders from the governor to charge him for whatever corn and beans had been used for his food. It amounted to about eight pesos, for which he was to give him an order on the mission of San Gabriel just as the governor had commanded. The father replied that he had no claim on the Indians of that mission, and that it would be better to deduct it from the salary that belonged to him as chaplain. Since this was none at all the said lieutenant replied, "I see, Father, that you are right, but I have my orders, and I have carried them out with great shame. Do not pay any attention to it, your Reverence, and I will pay it out of my salary."

Neither this action nor the others I have mentioned, nor others which I omit, have been sufficient to keep us from going to the presidio to say Mass. Indeed, it was only the fact that they wrote us from Mexico that the governor, Don Felipe de Neve, had secretly planned and was undertaking measures to oblige us to administer and say Mass in the presidio for the stipend his Majesty grants us as missionaries and ministers to the mission, by which he intends to deprive us of the merit of going for charity as we have done up to the present, hoping for a reward from God. But, in order that we may not give our labor as cheaply as that gentleman intends, henceforth the people from the presidio

must take the trouble of coming over the road to hear Mass. As to the administration of the sacraments and our going to the presidio to help them when there are sick persons, there will not be the least change, and on any holiday whatever, as I have previously said, we shall go to say Mass, which is as much as we can do for the comfort of the presidio.

May God, Our Lord, spare your life for many years. From this mission of Our Father San Francisco, January 8, 1783.

FRAY BENITO CAMBÓN (Rubric).

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XXII

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO JOSEPH DE GALVEZ

SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 15, 1783.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

My Most Respected Sir—Since the two last which I received of your Excellency of September 12th and 15th, 1771, I have written six to your Excellency, two under date of Nov. 12th of said year, in reply to your two of farewell, in which you enjoined me to write all that happened, trusting that you would be a good advocate with his Majesty and his ministers in behalf of the missions, both old and new, since, in addition to their great importance, you could never forget the great labors and vigils that they cost you. I complied with that wish and also I remained at Loreto, as your Excellency directed me on bidding me farewell at the mission and Presidio, where I remained till May, 1773, when I was compelled (most reluctantly) to surrender all the missions of Old California to the Dominican Fathers, by the superior orders which were given me, both by the Most Excellent Viceroy and by my immediate superior of the College of San Fernando, on the confirmation whereof I wrote to your Excellency giving

* *Historical Magazine*, First Series, Vol. IV, March, 1860, pp. 67-69. New York, 1860. Translated from the original in the Buckingham Smith Collection.

you particular notice of all; and of the spiritual and temporal progress made by those missions during the five years that they were in our hands, and also that, although the Discretory of my College left it optional with me to retire to the College or go up to the new establishment of Monte Rey, I determined to go up with six other missionaries, and thence write to your Excellency the state of the new missions.

I did so on the 12th of December of said year '73, having reached Monte Rey, Nov. 14th, inclosing a copy of the account, which his Excellency, the Viceroy, directed me (in the absence of the Rev. Father Lector and President Friar Juniper Serra), to make of the new Missions. I repeated the same on the 23d of June, '74, giving your Excellency tidings of all that had happened new; of the new Provisional Regulation; of the change of Commandant; of the erection of the Presidio of San Diego, and of the naval expedition to survey the northern coast of this Pacific Ocean. This letter I did not send through the College (as your Excellency wrote me that you did not receive my letters), but by a Catalonian volunteer, who, being married, obtained leave to return home, and who promised me to deliver it to your Excellency's own hands, hoping to obtain some post through your Excellency, as he had labored in these new establishments from their foundation. But neither of this, nor of the preceding, nor of the last, of May 15th, 1777, wherein I congratulated you on your exaltation to the ministry, have I received the least notice whether they

have reached your Excellency's hands; and if they are lost, I shall (and most justly) regret it, as in your letter of farewell you charged me with such affectionate expressions, that they alone were enough to oblige me to comply so as to avoid the stigma of ingratitude, even waiving the many favors that I had already received of your Excellency, from the first interview I had the happiness to enjoy at Guanaguato, till the last time I saw you at Loretto.

But if I obtain what the Governor (Don Pedro Fages) promises me, and he will enclose this to Madrid under cover of his, and will see that it reaches your Excellency's hand, I trust that it will satisfy you of my so due correspondence, and will obtain me your Excellency's patronage to obtain what I ask in this, which is, that I be not prevented from retiring to the College of San Fernando, seeing that I find myself much broken down, as your Excellency may imagine from my advanced age of sixty-one, and a missionary life of thirty-four in these kingdoms, twenty-six of which were among the Infidels, ten in the Sierra Gorda, and the rest in these Californias; for on surrendering the missions of Old California, I went up to the mission of San Carlos de Monte Rey, where I labored three years, during which time I went by the orders of his Excellency the Viceroy on two expeditions, to explore the country around this port of our holy Father St. Francis (San Francisco), which resulted in his Excellency's sending troops and settlers for a fort, and two missions. This having arrived at Monte Rey in the year '76, I came with it to this port,

where I founded this mission (which is to this day the most northerly), and in it I have continued to the present time.

Four years after its foundation I fell sick, and almost incapacitated for the many duties of the ministry, which induced me to ask of the College my recall, and although it was conceded to me, I could not use the permission—the first year for want of a vessel, last year for want of one to remain in my place, as one of the first missionaries had died, and two supernumeraries that remained had proceeded to found the mission of San Buenaventura. And this year that I expected to effect it at the time that two missionaries came as supernumeraries, there came also the Constitutions for the Custodia, to be formed of these missions; and as in one of them our Most Rev. Father Commissary General Friar Manuel de la Vega, commands all religious actually employed in the instruction of the tribes not to leave so holy work till others are put in their place by the Definitory of the Custodia. Not to disobey said precept, or the decree of his Majesty which commands the same, I have remained.

But considering the delay which may take place in organizing the new Custodia of Monte Rey, and enabling the Definitory to be erected by it to grant permissions, I may be totally incapacitated for so long a voyage by sea and land from this port to Mexico, I have recourse to your Excellency's mediation to obtain said permission as soon as may be, protesting in all candor and truth, that I have no motive for retiring except my advanced age and

want of strength to discharge the ministry among the heathen, which requires stout health for the many necessary journeys, which will be increased by the Triennial Chapters, required in the said constitutions after the erection of the Custodia.

And if it be freely granted to those who have labored ten years to return to the Provinces or Colleges whence they came, I, who have labored sixteen years in these Californias (as your Excellency knows), besides the ten in the Sierra Gorda, what I ask seems to me just; and I hope to obtain it by your Excellency's interposition, either with his Majesty (whom God preserve), or with his royal council—a favor, the obtaining whereof, I shall reckon among the many which I have received from your Excellency, which I do not forget, nor shall I forget to implore the Divine Majesty for your important health and felicity in the immense government which our Sovereign has conferred on you. And that He may preserve your life with many graces and as many years as you desire, I also beg of the Lord.

At this mission of our holy Father St. Francis (San Francisco) of the Port (del Puerto) the most northerly of New California, by so many titles.

Most Excellent Sir.

Your Excellency's most devoted and obedient Chaplain, who reveres and loves you in Christ.

FRIAR FRANCIS PALOU.

His Excellency, Don José de Galvez.

August 15th, 1783.

GALVEZ'S MARGINAL MINUTE OF HIS ANSWER

I replied to this Religious, that I did not receive his previous letters, at least I am not conscious that any of them reached me, but, for all that, I did not suppose that he had forgotten to write me.

That as regards his desired and just retirement to his College, I give order to the Viceroy of Mexico, instructing him to transmit it to the Discretory, that they may send, without loss of opportunity, some one to relieve him of the mission in his charge.

REPLY OF THE ROYAL AUDIENCE OF MEXICO TO GALVEZ

This Royal Administrative Audience has transmitted to the Discretory of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, in this capital, the royal order of October 5th last, wherein his Majesty is pleased to order that Father Friar Francis Palou shall, without loss of time, be relieved of the mission of San Francisco de Monte Rey, in consequence of the health of that Religious being broken by his many years, and the prolonged journeys which he has performed in the Apostolical Ministry of Missionary of the Interior Provinces, and his inability to continue therein, by reason of his age and exhaustion, to the effect that with the greatest speed it should be fulfilled, directing that said Religious return to San Blas in the same vessel that carries out the new missionaries, and that he incorporate himself to the above-named College of San Fernando. Of the

fulfillment whereof this Administrative Audience notifies your Excellency for the information of his Majesty.

May our Lord preserve your Excellency many years.

VICENTE DE HERRERA,
ANTONIO DE VALLE URRUTIA,
RUPERTO VIZENTE DE LUYANDO,
JOAQUIN GALDEANO,
MIGUEL CALIXTO DE AZEDO,
BALTHAZAR LADRON DE GUEVARA,
JPH. ANTO. DE VRIZAR.

To his Excellency, Don JOSEPH GALVEZ.

Mexico, February 18, 1785.

[Marginal Note:] The Administrative Audience of New Spain replies that it has fulfilled the royal order of Oct. 5th last, as to relieving Father Friar Francis Palou, Missionary at Monte Rey, in the Interior Provinces.

XXIII

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO JOSEPH DE GALVEZ

MISSION SAN CARLOS, SEPTEMBER 6, 1784.*

HIS EXCELLENCY, DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ, MOST EXCEL-
LENT SIR:

Will your Excellency permit me to give you the news of the death of our beloved and honored Father President, Fray Junípero Serra, whom God was pleased to take to eternity on the day of San Agustín, the 28th of August last. To all of us eighteen missionary friars who are distributed among these nine new missions, the children of your Excellency's fervent zeal in this Northern California, his death was a matter of great sorrow and grief for the loss of so kindly and zealous a prelate, who inspired us by his exemplary life and religious zeal and directed us in the conversion of these Indians. By this it was brought about, though not in the measure that he desired, that this spiritual conquest had something of the rapid progress that your Excellency wished, and if it was not greater it was not the fault of the deceased father's zeal and industry, but of the many obstacles that these conquests have suffered, God permitting them for the greater glory

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

of our saintly deceased father. If he did not have a revelation of his death, from what happened before his death I cannot help saying that he expected it moment by moment.

I was in the mission of our father San Francisco, forty leagues from here, when his Reverence wrote to me that he wished to see me. I started at once and we arrived at this mission on the afternoon of the 18th, and the following day he bade me chant the Mass of the most holy patriarch San Joseph, since it was the 19th. I found the father no worse in health than for the customary swelling of the feet that he has suffered for so many years, and the shortness of breath that has not prevented his going on so many journeys, on expeditions, and on frequent visits to the missions, not only to encourage the missionaries but to confirm the neophytes, of whom he confirmed during the time he had that privilege five thousand three hundred and seven, as is proved by the books.

He told me of the unexpected news that the ship had just come in, and that the father guardian of the sacred College of San Fernando had written him that the Dominican fathers were coming to replace us at the invitation of our illustrious lord and brother, Don Fray Antonio de los Reyes, bishop of Sonora and California. The reverend father guardian added that according to the rumors that were current it might well be that by the time the letter reached us the reverend Dominican fathers would have come up from Old California. But since this had not taken place as soon as the father

guardian feared, the father president spoke to me in a humble and religious manner of the way in which we ought to conduct ourselves in the surrender of the missions in this second expulsion,* and of the inventories and other things that ought to be prepared beforehand so as not to delay the surrender, saying he desired that it should be done as promptly as possible. In spite of such an unexpected and heavy blow, I did not discover in our father the least sign of trouble or sadness, but a great calmness and inner peace, for he said, "Let the most holy will of God be done, for this vineyard is His and since He so orders it, doubtless those workmen are more suitable for the spiritual tillage. May the flock of the Holy Church increase, and may the shepherds be those most acceptable to the Lord."

Eight days after my arrival at this mission his Reverence had some fever, but it was not serious enough to prostrate him in bed. However, he begged me to administer the holy viaticum to him, and wished to go to the church, since he had not taken to his bed.

This pious suggestion filled us with surprise, but knowing his ardent spirit I had to yield. On the 27th, in the morning, after having performed divine service, he went on foot to the church, accompanied by the greater part of the town, which is composed of about seven hundred neophytes, and by other hundreds from the presidio, who were present with the commander as well as the sailors. As soon as he reached the altar vested in ecclesiastical dress, kneel-

* He refers to the entry of the Dominicans into Lower California.

ing near the steps of the chancel, the sick father himself chanted the *Tantum Ergo* for the sacred ceremony, with the same resounding voice he always used, as if nothing were the matter. He received the Host with all the ceremony of the Church, and remained in the same posture giving thanks to the Lord. When the services were ended he retired to the cell which was his dwelling place, about a hundred yards distant from the church, in the same manner in which he had come.

In the early part of the night he asked me for extreme unction, which I administered to him while he was seated on an Indian armchair, so fully conscious that he repeated with us the penitential psalms and the litany, and spent the night without going to bed, part of it seated on the floor and the remainder on his knees, telling us that he felt more rested in that posture. On the 28th the slight fever continued, but it did not overcome him in spite of the fact that he had not slept at all. On that day the officers from the ship, his old friend, Captain Don Joseph Cañizares, and the father chaplain came to visit him. He was greatly pleased at the visit, for which he thanked them, saying also that he was grateful to them for coming from so far to give him a bit of earth nearby. He said a few words to them for their edification, and in the presence of those gentlemen and some others who were present he told me that some fear had come over him, and as soon as he had prayed out loud for the reception of his soul, I did so also, his Reverence responding to the litany as if he were in perfect health, causing

us all surprise. When the last prayer was finished he exclaimed as if filled with happiness and joy, "With the favor of God I am no longer afraid. He has taken all fear from me now. I will rest a little." Then, seating himself on the Indian chair he only took off his mantle and reclined on his customary bed, which was some planks covered by a single blanket. He had retired to rest for all eternity, for, without giving the least sign as a warning he delivered his soul to the Creator.

Since all the people of the mission and the presidio, as well as those of the packet, had the news, on account of the report given them by those gentlemen who were present, they did their best to honor him, not only the next day, which was the day of the burial, but the fourth day after, on which they paid him formal honors. With unusual emotion Señor Cañisares expressed the love he professed for the father, and all the others of both the land and sea forces voiced the high opinion in which they held him. Everybody wanted some little memento from the personal things the deceased father had used, and in spite of the fact that they were promised them, they so far forgot themselves as to cut bits from the habit that served as his shroud, which was the same one in which he died. Others cut locks from his head and tonsure.

Your Excellency, we piously believe that because of his exemplary life he must be rejoicing in the presence of God, but since the high judgments of the Lord are inscrutable, I beg your Excellency to remember him in your sacred prayers, as our dead

father always remembered you and asked me to pray God for your Excellency as the chief founder and patron of these and the other missions. We all of us, your lesser chaplains, do the same, and I, as the most favored although the most remiss, continue to pray God that He may keep your Excellency's important life for many years. From your Excellency's mission of San Carlos de Monte Rey, September 6, 1784.

Your Excellency's most humble servant and attentive chaplain, who loves you in Jesus.

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XXIV

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO FRAY JUAN SANCHO

MISSION SAN CARLOS, SEPTEMBER 7, 1784.*

HAIL JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH!

VERY REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN, FRAY JUAN
SANCHO; REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN:

On the 28th of August just past God was pleased to take to eternity the soul of my ever-loved and honored father, the father president and founder of these new missions, Fray Junípero Serra.

His death was much regretted by all of us, and to me especially, as his pupil, although an unworthy one, it was a matter of extreme grief and sorrow because of the loss of so great a master, both learned and holy. God wished to give me the consolation of being present at his death by a mere chance. This was that when I was at the mission of Our Father San Francisco more than forty leagues north of here, the deceased father wrote me, intimating to me that he wished to talk over with me the news that your Reverence had communicated to him regarding the intention of the illustrious bishop of Sonora to have the reverend Dominican fathers come

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

to occupy these new missions. I started at once, leaving at that mission my father companion Fray Pedro Cambón, and also leaving the boat anchored in the harbor. I arrived at this mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the afternoon of the 18th of the month of August. I found my beloved father happy, and with no other ill health than his old lung trouble and the swelling of the feet from which, as your Reverence knows, he has suffered for more than twenty years without doing the least thing to help it. I found him as zealous as ever, preaching the gospel to the neophytes and catechumens, and singing with them as always, chiefly the verses for the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, whose octave it then was and on whose day, the 15th, his Reverence had chanted Mass and preached in most solemn fashion.

We discussed the question, and decided that it would be best for me to go to the College to see if I could get information on the matter of these missions. I regretted very deeply going so far from his Reverence, as I told him, and especially under the present circumstances, since in a short time some decision as to the illustrious bishop's intention might come. But he encouraged me, and told me that he had already written to your Reverence that I would embrace the opportunity of the ship to come, adding, "In remaining as I do, I offer you to God for His holy love and in accordance with His holy will." With this decided, we discussed the details, making notes of whatever we judged desirable until the sailing.

On the 22d, when the ship arrived at this port, his lungs felt more congested, although he paid no attention to it, in spite of the fact that there was some internal change, for on the 20th he had prepared to make again or to renew his general confession, as he had done many times with me. I attributed this to the fact that he was doing it because of my departure, but I immediately changed my opinion, because at night he had a fever, and had it still on the morning of the 27th. However he got up and recited the Divine Office up to and including the terce, rising as if nothing had happened. He asked me to administer the holy viaticum to him before any misfortune could happen that would deprive him of this spiritual consolation, adding that it was to be in the church. I told him that it was not necessary for it to be carried out with all the ceremony possible. He gave me such reasons, sprung from his profound humility and religious fervor, that I had to yield to his desires, and on his own feet he went to church, about a hundred yards distant, accompanied by the whole town of neophytes, the commander of the presidio, and part of the troops. Kneeling near the chancel, he prepared to receive the consecration of the viaticum. As I began the hymn to summon the Host the sick father began the *Tantum Ergo* with the sonorous voice he always used, as if nothing were the matter, affecting us all so deeply that we could not follow him in the singing. I administered the holy viaticum with the ceremonies of the manual of the Order, and when the service was finished he

remained in the same posture on his knees, thanking the Lord. When this was concluded he returned to the cell or little room in his quarters, leaving us all amazed and edified.

At night he had a higher fever and asked me to administer extreme unction to him, which I did without his having taken to his bed. He repeated with us the penitential psalms and the litany. He spent the night partly seated on the floor, the greater part on his knees, saying that he rested better thus. On the 28th the fever continued, though he did not take to his bed, but remained seated in an Indian chair with great calmness. The captain of the packet, Don Joseph Cañizares, and the chaplain, Don Cristóbal Díaz, came to see him. When his Reverence recognized them he was very much pleased, thanked them for their visit, and gave them a close embrace, telling the father chaplain that he would give him the closest one since he was a priest of Jesus Christ. He said some words to edify them, at which they were greatly moved, showing it by the tears in their eyes. At about one o'clock, when those gentlemen and the rest were with the father, he told me to sprinkle him with holy water because great fear had begun to come over him, and for his consolation to pray for the acceptance of his soul. I did so, his Reverence replying with all the litanies. When I had finished he exclaimed, all filled with joy, "Thanks be to God, now the fear has completely left me. Now I am not afraid. I am already well. We will go and have a little broth." Then he walked to the table and took a bowl of broth. Afterward

he began to pray the evening prayers, and when they were ended he said he wished to rest a little. He took off only his mantle and reclined on the planks covered with only a blanket, which were his usual bed. I then went out to pray, and on entering again because of my great anxiety, I found him already sleeping in the Lord, without having made the slightest sign.

As soon as the news was made public it spread through all the town, everybody mourning the death of their dead father. Everybody crowded to see him, and it was necessary to close the gate, in order to place him in the coffin that he himself had ordered made, for the day before he sent for the carpenter of the presidio without our knowing it and asked him to make a box large enough to bury him in. He complied and I did not see it until they brought it to me. As soon as he died his body was placed in it, taking it from the bed or platform on which he died without removing his habit, by the order of the chaplain of the boat and the captain, who were present at all this. Then the Indians whom the dead father had baptized and confirmed brought roses and other flowers with which to adorn his dead body, and weeping at his death they did not want to go away. At night we took his body to the church, with a procession formed by all the town and the six soldiers of the guard, one of whom stayed on watch all night with many Indian neophytes and some sailors.

When the father died all were eager for some little thing that he had used. I promised that I would comfort them all so that they might not do

anything unseemly, but in spite of this and of the sentinels at night, they cut off bits of the habit that served as a shroud and much of the hair from his tonsure. The following day Father Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, to whom I had written the day before, arrived from the mission of San Antonio, twenty-five leagues distant, to administer the sacraments. From San Antonio he informed the mission of San Luís, twice as far away, but on account of the distance Father Fray Antonio Paterna did not arrive in time for the burial, but did come for the formal honors. I did not write to the other missions because of the great distance, nor to the two in the North, because Father Naboá was ill, and my companion, Fray Pedro Cambón, was alone. For the reasons stated Father Mathías Noriega and I alone of the missionaries were present at his death.

The following day, which was Sunday, with the aid of Father Fray Buenaventura Sitjar and the father chaplain, we chanted the vigil, and immediately afterwards I said Mass for the body present, the chaplain and Father Fray Mathías acting as assistants and Fray Buenaventura singing in the choir with the Indian choristers. Many people were present, not only from the mission but also from the ship, including the captain and officers, only the prisoners being left on board. The commander of the presidio did the same with his troops, and the adjutant inspector, who was present on a tour of inspection, came like all the others to pay honor to the deceased father. Only the governor was not there, he being in San Francisco forty leagues away.

In the afternoon the burial took place with all solemnity. The procession went by way of the plaza, making four stops and singing at each a response. The soldiers carried the body, the rest going with tapers in their hands. When we arrived at the church we sang lauds with all the ceremony of the ritual of the Order. All were eager to honor the deceased, the royal presidio as well as the packet which was anchored in the bay, whose captain, because of the great love and esteem that he felt for the deceased, had him paid the honors of a general, ordering a salute fired every half hour. The presidio replied with a similar salute, and although the mission is a league away, the salutes were heard, which, together with the tolling of the bells, moved us all. They did the same on the day of the honors, which was the 4th of September, the same people, officers and soldiers being present. Father Fray Antonio Paterna, who arrived at this mission on the 31st, also took part in them. We chanted the vigil and celebrated Solemn High Mass, and when it was ended I said a few words to commend the dead father to God, thanking Him for the honors that He had bestowed upon him.

Although I was forgetful of the fact that I had been asked for some mementoes of the deceased father, which they said they wanted for relics, they did not forget. On the contrary, they importuned me to such an extent that I was forced to give up his tunic, which I told them they must make into scapulars and bring them to me to bless, together with their cords. They did this, and when I distributed them I explained that they were the scapu-

lar and girdle of Our Father San Francisco, in return for which they should pray for a season for the soul of the dead father. In this way I satisfied the eager worshippers and interceded for the soul of the dead father if, indeed, he needs our prayers and petitions. For this purpose I communicated the news to all the missions, and I am doing so to your Reverence, so that in the sacred and apostolic College they may make their prayers, and may communicate it to the other colleges and to our sacred province of Mayorca, to whose provincial I hope to write if God gives me life to send some diaries that my dear dead father lector told me a short time before his death it would be well to send, although he did not order me to do so. I am not sending them at present because the ship is leaving as soon as possible, and I must send a report by it, although there is time for only a short one. I hope also that you will communicate the news to the illustrious Señor Verger, bishop of Linares, and to all the father's other acquaintances, that they may commend him to God. We are doing the same here because, in spite of the fact that in accordance with his exemplary life he departed from it by death piously, we believe these prayers will be worthy in the eyes of God.

I here pray that He may spare your life for the many years that are due you. Mission of San Carlos de Monte Rey, September 7, 1784.

Your Reverence's most humble servant and the humblest of your brothers.

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XXV

FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU TO FRAY JUAN SANCHO

MISSION SAN CARLOS, MONTEREY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1784.*

HAIL JESUS, MARY AND JOSEPH!

VERY REVEREND FATHER GUARDIAN, FRAY JUAN
SANCHO; MY REVEREND FATHER:

On the 5th of last August, when I was at the mission of Our Father San Francisco, I received permission, and, for my greater merit, orders to retire to the College, dated March 10th, when your Reverence sent it to the reverend father President, my beloved Fray Junípero, may he rest in peace. He wrote to me telling me that, although your Reverence said if he thought best, "or if the time were suitable, he was to give it to me, and if not as his Reverence saw fit," he found no reason to turn aside the order except the pain which he had begun to feel, which he had not formerly experienced, but which had passed. "It would be well to keep the decision to yourself and to come this way." My remaining as I did I attribute to God and His most holy will.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

In view of my father lector and president's letter I started at once, leaving the mission of Our Father San Francisco the 9th of August, not explaining my journey to anyone, except my companion Father Cambón; and, in order to conceal it the more, I sent to the boat only a chest with the manuscripts and what was absolutely necessary for my voyage, addressed to the reverend father president; and with only some blankets and my breviary I set out from the mission. I stopped at Santa Clara to celebrate with the fathers there the Feast of the Patroness, and together we observed the Assumption. I informed the fathers of my journey, with the injunction to keep it secret until the proper time. I arrived at this mission of Monte Rey on the 18th, finding my beloved father happy, though somewhat sad and somewhat worried by the old trouble in his chest. When we discussed the point it seemed to him, in view of the way in which the leave and the orders came, that it would be perhaps the will of God for me to go, so that, as one acquainted with the affairs of the missions I might be able to give information, and if necessary go on to Madrid to work for the honor of the College and all the missionaries in these missions. This seemed necessary on account of the plan which the most illustrious Señor Reyes had on hand to despoil our seraphic order of these missions which its sons had founded, watered with the blood of the venerable Fray Luís Jayme, and in spite of so many obstacles and hindrances, improved and placed in so short a time in the flourishing condition in which they are seen

to be, and to enrich the reverend Dominican fathers with them to the discredit of our apostolic institute. I agreed to what seemed best to my beloved father lector, and then we discussed the details that might be desirable and noted the documents conducive to our end. He mentioned at the time that the trouble in his chest was worse, although it did not appear to be a matter for anxiety, since it did not prevent his going to church to pray with the Indians and to perform our spiritual duties.

In discussing my departure we wondered whether the governor would try to prevent me, in view of my obligation to his Majesty which the Illustrious Sr. Reyes claims; but Father Serra told me that he would find the reply right at hand, namely, that the missions were nine in number and we missionaries were nineteen, and thus there was a supernumerary whom the king did not pay, and that I was the supernumerary by virtue of the leave from my Superior. I asked him what I should do when I got to San Diego, in case I found Father Sánchez, who had been ill since Lent and had gone to try the climate of San Juan Capistrano, unable to perform his duties. He answered me that so long as he was alive I should continue my journey.

On the 26th his Reverence passed a very bad night, with some fever by the morning of the 27th, and then everything happened as I told your Reverence in the accompanying letter, in which I spoke only of his death, in case you wished to show it or send it to our sacred province. But I intend to write at greater length, since I am not myself at present,

because of the sorrow his death has caused me and because there is much to be said of the exemplary deeds and virtues of my honored father lecturer. Then, if God gives me life and ability to write what I wish, he may become known to the edification of all. I can send it with his diary and that of Father Crespi (may they rest in peace!), which my dear father lector charged me to send to the province that they might inspire others to come to work in this vineyard of the Lord, for he said to me, "I do not believe, I do not believe the Dominican fathers are coming to occupy these missions." God grant that it be so. In spite of this your Reverence will be able to report the death of the deceased father to the province so that they may make their petitions.

Since God willed that the death of my beloved father should be in your Reverence's triennium, if you should wish to order it painted I should be very much pleased, and in case someone is inspired and there is a benefactor, we will accept it for Masses or for the stipends which we will all take kindly. The most edifying scene would be to have him wearing his stole and kneeling before the altar of Our Lady, with the Child in her arms, and a priest vested with a cope before the altar, with a small host for giving him the viaticum, and coming from the lips of the dead father in verse *Tantum Ergo*, with many Indians and Leather-jackets with their candles in their hands. In case you think well of it I will write by the land post, suggesting the title that might be put beneath it. Pardon my annoying you, for if I am impertinent and important in this letter

it is because of my confidence that your Reverence was very fond of our dead father. Let us come to another subject to console me for the grief and sorrow which I suffer.

In addition to my sorrow for the death of my dear father, doubt has come over me as to whether I ought to go or not, because with his death and that of Father Murguía there is no supernumerary left. Did I not say that when I was talking with the dead father as to what might happen to detain me or prevent my embarking in view of the cédula, his reply was that I was the supernumerary? At that time the report came that Father Sánchez was ill and had gone to San Juan Capistrano for a change of climate. I asked him if upon my arrival at the port of San Diego I found any change for the worse in that father what I should do, and he replied, "While I live, go on." From this it seems that he wished it understood that in case of his death I should not go, since then the number would not be complete.

But I can not satisfy myself with this, although after my dear father had received the last sacraments from me I spoke to him for my consolation and begged him to tell me "If God takes away your Reverence, what am I to do?" He replied that I would see when the time came. On the very day that he died, I asked him the same question and he gave me the same reply, from which I understood that he did not want to be responsible to God for the decision. After his death, when I wrote the news, I asked the opinion of the fathers of Santa Clara

and of Father Cambón, and all three replied that I certainly ought not to go and leave one mission with a single missionary. While these fathers were giving me their opinion I explained my doubt to the three that were here, that is, to Father Paterna, Fray Buenaventura and Fray Mathías, and they were of the same opinion. They added that according to what your Reverence wrote on the 10th of March to the reverend father president, if the blow of expulsion were to come I could not now arrive in time to prevent it or do anything about it, and if I went they might say I had run away from the Dominican fathers, and that without doubt the thing to do in consideration of the suffering of the fathers would be to sacrifice myself and leave it in the hands of God and our most loving superior, awaiting the heavy blow with the rest. May He not fail to aid us to bear it with His divine grace!

Therefore I resolved to do this. May God grant that this decision is agreeable to your Reverence as our superior! I wrote to the fathers of the four missions in the South, sending them a copy of the father president's instructions, in case the Dominican fathers came, saying that it was best to have the inventories ready, and prescribing the manner in which they were to be drawn up, that is in triplicate, one to leave in the mission and two for the College, for the archive and to send to the Court. I wrote at length to Father Lazúen, who is in the port,* to meet Fray Pablo and consult with him what ought to be done, and to communicate with the fathers of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, and

* San Diego.

that all should try to act in all matters in conformity with the honor of this sacred College. I added that we would do the same in the five missions up here and that they should manage to write to us as to what they thought. I hope they will do so, and that we shall all be aided by the divine priestess.

If the expulsion takes place it seems to me impossible for us to return by any other way than by the ships to San Blas, because otherwise we would have to go by land to Loreto. Your Reverence knows that the way is so long that many would have to go five hundred leagues. The crossing of the Gulf by launch to Santa Clara would come afterward, and from there we would have to go almost or quite as many leagues by land to get to the sacred College. We will have to go by force of arms to join the custodia of Sonora. That would be rewarding us for what we have done here with execution suitable for a civilian. May God look upon us with eyes of pity and give us strength to bear the cross! Do not forget, your Reverence, to commend us to God.

The deceased father president had prepared ahead of time copies of the reports which they want for the commandancy-general, to send them by the ship to your Reverence, and so I am sending them. Only two are lacking, for the two missions of San Luís and San Antonio, since they did not send the duplicate which our dead father had requested. When they come I will send them. I am sending these at present addressed to the chief mail in case they can be made free of postage, and if not, have

them paid from the account of all missions. Here we do not have anything to do with the postage charges which have been imposed, and with which they have excommunicated us, depriving us of communication since we are not in places where we can correspond by means of Indians as in Old California. This is worse than tobacco in Spain, and the worst is that if we write to the governor or any commander we have to pay the postage in advance so that those gentlemen may not receive it in a mutilated form. And whatever notice has to be given we have to pay for it, and if they wish to send us one we also have to pay.

I have just learned from the captain of the ship, who came to take leave, that they have just sent an official letter for him to give them a list of the passengers who intend to go on his boat, and he replied that he knew his duty. He told me that they were trying to find out whether I was going or not in order to prevent my departure, but that if I had decided to go, to come on board and not to worry, for he would answer not only them but the commander-general and the viceroy. I answered him that I thanked him but that now I could not go on account of the father's death, but that before he died he had told the governor of the permit and the orders, and the governor had not expressed the least objection. It is true, the officer in question was not the governor, but the lieutenant governor, who was taking his place. With so much writing I have not had an opportunity to answer what your Reverence asked me at the beginning of January, nor to make

the memorandum as my companion charged me to do in Mexico when I was leaving. Since I shall probably not get there for two years now, I will do so and will write to Father Murguía, and not put it off, provided the boat fails to go to-morrow from lack of wind.

The deceased father told me that he had enjoined your Reverence to say twenty-three more Masses in addition to the fifty that had already been said for him. I did not add those that he lacked, but I shall do so as soon as the twenty for the dead are finished. And so do not worry about them, for as soon as I have paid those that came to us from Tepic for a portion of clothing, I shall perform them as I am able, and shall notify you by the land post, by which your Reverence can write to us whenever you wish, since a monthly post has been established. Although the letters are delayed somewhat they will be more recent than those by ship; and if you can, send them post-free. Although they have been paid for, we will sign them, because, although they are paid, those who see them here with a franking mark will decide differently from what they decide about us.

If by any chance the change to the Dominican fathers does not take place, or if the proposed custodia is put off, I beg your Reverence to pity us if any missionaries have come from Spain by sending some fathers, so that there may always be two supernumeraries, on account of the mischances of death, and because this is not a land in which to have one stay alone in the midst of so many

Indians, one mission being so far from another that one can not go without a guard of two men, a thing which is difficult to grant since the mission would be left with four soldiers only. There are other reasons which can be added to those I mention, as well as for those who wish to retire, for if I had been able to take advantage of this fine opportunity I should now be freed from the difficulties that await me. May God's will be done!

We had the governor and his wife more than four months in the mission of Our Father San Francisco when he came on a visit to the presidio. Since his lady was pregnant he stayed for the birth of a daughter, whom I baptized there. He is very much pleased with the manner in which we conduct ourselves, and gave a fine example to those neophytes and soldiers. With his conduct and presence much was accomplished. May God reward him for it! He has just returned from there and I went to this presidio to welcome him. He showed me the new regulation just printed for these presidios. I have read it and it does not provide for a chaplain at any presidio. It does not speak of the missions. Who knows but that they may have made some regulation which says that the missionaries are to stay alone, to save half of the stipend, except in the missions nearest the presidios, where they say there must be two, one as chaplain for the presidio. Your Reverence will be able to investigate the matter, and in case these missions remain under the College and such a plan is hinted at, it will be well to ask them what they are going to do about the chap-

laincies at four hundred dollars which were formerly given without any obligation. It is probable that they will not force the missionaries to be alone, but they might cause them not to be paid more than one stipend for each mission.

None of these plans will suit the present governor, but there is no help. Much less will he agree to the plans for the guard. He has seen the ordinances and says he is ready to certify that none of them can be kept, and that it is evident that someone made them who is entirely ignorant of what anyone has written. He says he will certify to the reasons they present for the formation of a guard. As for the plan of the Dominicans, he likewise says that he wishes they would ask him for a report, since he has seen all the missions of Old and New California, and he would state what he has seen of the management of both orders, sending for confirmation the reports of this last year. In the four months that we have lived together you can judge whether there have been opportunities to talk of these and other matters all concerning the welfare of the missions. The pity is that he can not initiate or improve anything, for now he can not do any good. At least he will not do harm in so far as lies in his power, unless from some mischance he changes.

Before the illustrious Señor Reyes went to Spain Fages was his friend and helped somewhat for his trip to Spain. Señor Reyes wrote him some letters from there, and since he has been made bishop Fages has written him three letters of congratulation, for

the bishopric, for his safe return, and for his arrival in Sonora but has received no answer to any of them, although he has received two or three from the illustrious Señor Ramos. He does not know what mystery the silence of the illustrious Señor Reyes may have in it.

I am aware that I have written too much in detail to a superior as busy as you are, but I console myself that I am writing to Father Sancho, who knows me, and I am sure that you will not throw the letter away in anger without reading it but will peruse it to the end. And if you knew how much it has cost me to write it and how many times I have forced myself to wipe away the tears, you would esteem it more.

May God our Lord aid us and spare your Reverence for many years. Mission of San Carlos de Monte Rey, September 13, 1784.

Your Reverence's most humble servant, who honors and loves you in Jesus.

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU (Rubric).

XXVI

FRAY JUAN SANCHO TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

MEXICO, FEBRUARY 6, 1785.*

VERY REVEREND FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU.

My Esteemed Brother and Father: I received your Reverence's letter of December 9, 1784, and the previous one dated in the month of December of the same year, with the reports from six missions. I am bearing in mind everything that you tell me in them, not to mention the sorrow caused us by the death of the Reverend Father President Fray Junípero Serra, although, looking upon it piously, we believe that our hearts should be cheered by the thought that he is now enjoying the sight of the eternal God. We feel the same regarding the Reverend Father Fray José Murguía, of whom we believe the same to be true.

I must tell your Reverence that although you did not come on the barks as was your intention, in order to take advantage of the permission which you had received from me, your action was very wise, and I thank you very much, judging it to have been done with the consent and agreement of those fathers, who must have so decided because the affairs of those missions were in the air, and because they

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

supposed, and with sufficient foundation believed, that the venerable Discretory had already chosen your reverence as president of those missions, in case you should be recovered from your illness, and the presidency should not be given to the reverend Father Fray Fermín, and that your Reverence would make your journey to this College when you should have recovered your broken health.

A letter having arrived in these last days from our reverend father commissary-general of the Indies, Fray Manuel de la Vega, in which he commands, by order of the royal council of the Indies, that after examining his letters we should notify your Reverence to come to this College without delay whenever a good opportunity arises, we therefore order your Reverence to do this at the first opportunity that offers, first giving notice of this and of the permission that you have had for a year past from me to return to this College, to the Reverend Father Fray Fermín Lasuén, appointed president as first choice, and if he should be lacking, to the Reverend Father Fray Pablo Mugártelui, who is second nominee for president in case the other fails.

I charge you to communicate to Father Fermín the things that seem to be necessary for the one who is to govern to know, for the success of his rule, and to deliver to him all the papers that you know to be useful to him in his government.

I inform your Reverence of the arrival at this College of twenty-four of the thirty missionaries granted four years ago by his Majesty. Two of them, Fray Juan Mariner and Fray Miguel Giribert,

come from the province of Catalonia. With these twenty-four this College is now somewhat relieved, and will be able to send some few to do missionary work among the faithful, which, for the lack of workers, has not been done for four years, nor has the mission been preached here in Mexico this year, although it was its turn. The picture of the deceased Fray Junípero is being painted at the expense of his Reverence, Bishop Verger. I received letters from Bishop Ramos, in which he informs me that he has arrived at the city of Maracaybo, after many storms and mishaps, in good health, although with one bad leg. He says they received him with much jubilation and pleasure, and that his parishioners wrote to the king, our master, praying him to place the bishop's chair in that city rather than at La Mérida.

I hope your Reverence will try to get the best accommodations, on the voyage as well as on land, and will not hurry too much, so as to arrive here in better health. We pray God our Lord and His Holy Mother to grant you health and grace for many years.

College of San Fernando de Mexico, February 6, 1785.

I kiss your Reverence's hands. Your affectionate servant and chaplain,

FRAY JUAN SANCHO (Rubric).

Postscript.—On the 31st of last January there died, after receiving the last sacraments, our brother and padre, Fray José Gari(?), *cuius animo requiescat in pace*.

XXVII

JOSEPH DE GALVEZ TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

ARANJUEZ, JULY 1, 1786.*

The King has learned with much satisfaction of your Reverence's letter of the 7th of last December, in which you report your departure from the port of San Carlos de Monterey, in order to remove and rest from your apostolic labors, to your College of San Fernando in that city of Mexico, in consequence of the royal order of the 5th of October, 1784. His Majesty has also examined with satisfaction the statement which your Reverence sends descriptive of the flourishing condition in which the missions of the Californias are at present in spiritual and temporal matters. God preserve your Reverence many years.

Aranjuez, July 1, 1786.

SONORA (Rubric).

Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.

[On the reverse of the preceding is written:] Letter from the Marqués de Sonora to the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu, in which he manifests his pleasure at the state of the missions. 1786.

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

XXVIII

PEDRO FAGES TO FRAY FRANCISCO PALOU

SAN GABRIEL, JANUARY 2, 1787.*

VERY REVEREND FATHER.

My dear Sir: For many reasons I received with much pleasure your Reverence's valued letter of the 4th of last July, the principal one being your health, which is so important to us, and the reestablishment of which I have celebrated as one of your most devoted friends. The excellent choice which the holy Discretory has made of your Reverence as guardian of that holy College will perfect for your Reverence the crown of your apostolic labors, with those which impend for the benefit of this conquest. For these just reasons I have rejoiced, as is natural to the long-standing affection and veneration which I have professed for your Reverence. I congratulate you a thousand times, and offer you my good wishes, as effects of my frank, true love and friendship.

Immediately after the departure of the barks for San Blas and the two French frigates that were at Monterey, I left for Santa Barbara, where the reverend father president was awaiting me, and on the 16th day of the same December we celebrated

* Museo Nacional de Mexico. Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias, MS. (Quarto Series), Vol. III.

the founding of the mission with every possible ceremony, with a sung Mass and a salvo of artillery, to the general satisfaction and joy of the heathen who witnessed it, in the place called Pedregoso, a location close to the presidio and the best one for planting and other necessary things. The reverend father and I made an appointment to again examine on my return the site of Santa Rosa for the founding of the mission of Purísima Concepción. I am continuing my journey to San Diego, to make arrangements for the founding of the frontier mission in the place called Encino, which will be some time in the month of March.

Here nothing has happened, thanks to God; everything goes on tranquilly and quietly. The Reverend Father Cambón, my namesake, was in the shadow of eternity, but God was pleased to restore him, although he still feels some effects of his illness. The rest of the fathers are in good health, and my family also were well when I left the presidio. Because I know that your Reverence esteems me I will tell you that about five or six months ago Eulalia suddenly called me one morning with a thousand protests, tears and humility and asked my pardon for all the past, voluntarily confessing that everything had been a pretence and falsehood, and that she herself had bribed the Indian girl to take part in the plot. Afterwards she called Don Hermenegildo, Vargas, and other persons, and told them the same thing, so that they might make it public, for the relief of her conscience. Thank God we are now living in union and harmony.

I have secured from the comandante-general the frank for the mail for the reverend missionary fathers, although that between the fathers themselves is not declared franked. I inform your Reverence of this for your guidance.

I cannot pass over in silence what is one of the greatest annoyances that we all have, to the general inquietude, which is the captious spirit of Don Nicolás Soler, who, although he is almost completely blind, with little or very remote hopes of recovering his sight, never ceases to stir things up and to write here and there of his chimerical plans to upset the peace of mind of the people and disturb the good harmony among all.

From the conversations which he holds with the neophytes and the dissensions that he scatters among them, arose complaints from those of Santa Clara against the Reverend Father Peña, imputing to him some homicides. Lieutenant González, his countryman and table-fellow, at the same time that he told me about it informed him also. Such a dust began to arise that it was necessary for me to look into the matter carefully. I arrested the Indian evil talkers and brought a process against them, with which I gave account to the General. They did not prove anything, and it was necessary for me to lose some sleep to unravel the tangle; but finally the father comes out innocent of the calumny, with his credit and reputation clear.

In the month of July I received the superior order to take on the functions of comandante-inspector, as is ordered in the regulation. Consider, your

Reverence, what a stupendous blow it was for Soler, who was waiting momentarily to destroy me and enthrone himself, to see himself subject to my orders; for, even with all this, he does not desire to depart from that system, so that, although he is walking in the dark and bringing us much disquiet, even though the father president and I know on which foot he is lame, he will not be capable of interrupting the good harmony in which we are living. But it is certain, and your Reverence knows it very well, that his presence is prejudicial in these establishments, and without doubt everything would have a better aspect without him. But God will do what pleases Him.

I have already been very tiresome, and your Reverence will need the time for your affairs, so that I now conclude by commending you again to my Señora, to whom I am writing, with permission to kiss your Reverence's hands.

Your Reverence already knows my affection, so that it will be superfluous to repeat it. God preserve your Reverence for many years in good health, as I pray him. Mission San Gabriel, January 2, 1787. I kiss your Reverence's hands.

Your most affectionate and constant servant and friend,

PEDRO FAGES (Rubric).

Very Reverend Father Guardian Fray Francisco Palóu.

EDITORIAL NOTES

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¹ For the remarkable part played by Viceroy Bucareli in the maintenance and development of California, see Chapman, Charles Edward, *A History of California, the Spanish Period*, especially chapter XXI.

² M. and D. omit "y Sinaloa."

³ The second Anza expedition and plans for the occupation of San Francisco Bay are treated by Palóu in the *Vida*, chapter XLIV. Additional sources are cited in connection with chapter XII of this volume, which recounts the Anza expedition. See Note 37.

⁴ M. and D. read "probar" for "poblar."

⁵ The texts here read "salí" for "salió."

Ayala's exploration is briefly related in the *Vida*, chapter XLIV. Additional sources for the expedition are cited in connection with chapter VI of the present volume, which touches upon the expedition. See Note 19.

⁶ D. reads "estilo" for "sitio."

⁷ The *Vida* briefly relates the Hezeta expedition in chapter XXXVII. Doyle makes Palóu's account in the *Noticias* appear to be a diary, whereas it is only the summary of a diary.

For the Hezeta expedition there are diaries by Bruno de Hezeta, Francisco Antonio Mourelle, Fray Miguel de la Campa, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. Bodega's diary begins June 13, 1774, with the sailing from Europe of the six officers of the Real Armada (Hezeta, Manrique, Quiros, Ayala, Choquet, and Bodega y Quadra). Bodega wrote also (a) "Comento de la Navegación," which is a summary of his fuller narrative, and (b) "Método de la Navegación," to be followed in future explorations. Manuscript copies of all these diaries are in the Bancroft Library. For a discussion of the sources of the expedition see Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, I, 159. An English translation of Mourelle's diary was printed in Davines Barrington's *Miscellanies*, London, 1781 (reprinted by Thomas C. Russell, San Francisco, 1920, as *Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition*).

Correspondence concerning Hezeta's expedition includes the following manuscripts: Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, March 27, 1775, No. 1752 (reporting that Hezeta has sailed in the *Santiago* from San Blas); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, March 27, 1775, No. 1753 (three days after the *San Carlos* sailed Manuel Manrique, commander, showed signs of dementia. Hezeta was therefore obliged to send him ashore and put Ayala in command of the *San Carlos*, and Bodega y Quadra in charge of the *Sonora*); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, April 26, 1775, No. 1815 (acknowledges instructions for dealing with any strangers found on the coasts of the North Pacific); Grimaldi to Arriaga, San Ildefonso, October 4, 1775 (Papeles y Noticias . . . sobre los Rusos en la America Septentrional); Bodega y Quadra, on board the *Sonora* at 47° 23' to Hezeta (included in No. 2033); Hezeta to Bucareli, Monterey, October 13, 1775 (summary of his expedition, made while awaiting the return of the *Sonora*, included in No. 2033); Bodega y Quadra to the Viceroy, Monterey, Oct. 13, 1775 (included in Nos. 2032-2034); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1775, No. 2031 (a summary of recent explorations by sea and land); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1775. No. 2033 (forwards various reports of the Hezeta expedition; Bucareli to Arriaga, Nov. 26, 1775, Nos. 2032-34 (the Viceroy reports the arrival of the *San Carlos* at San Blas and of the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* at Monterey; a summary of the voyage of the *Santiago* and the *Sonora*); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Dec. 27, 1775. Nos. 2073-2074 (transmitting various letters on the Hezeta expedition, with notes on each of the officers assigned to the Pacific Coast, Arteaga, Hezeta, Quiros, Manrique, Bodega, Ayala, and Choquet); Fr. Francisco de Pángua and the Discretory of San Fernando, to Arriaga, Mexico, February 26, 1776 (a summary of all the work in New California and explorations in the North Pacific, 1769-1776); Gálvez to Bucareli, El Pardo, Feb. 28, 1776 (reports promotion of the Pacific Coast explorers, Hezeta, Ayala, Bodega, Pérez, Cañizares, and Mourelle); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, May 27, 1776 (acknowledges receipt of foregoing document); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, June 26, 1776, No. 2296 (acknowledges order to prevent the English explorer Cook from landing in New Spain); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, August 27, 1776 (concerning new explorations in the North Pacific; suggests new voyages by Hezeta and Bodega in the *San Carlos* and *El Príncipe*); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, Sept. 26, 1776 (preparation for new explorations; suggests building two fragatas at Guayaquil); Bucareli to Gálvez, Oct. 27, 1776, No. 2534 (obeys order of July 14 to prevent Cook from landing); Junta at San Blas, Nov. 22, 1776 (concerning supplies for California and new explorations; attended

by Arteaga, Hezeta, Quiros, Ayala, Choquet, Bodega, Hijosa, Mourelle, Cañizares, Castro, and Aguirre); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1776. No. 2031 (reporting latitudes reached by Hezeta; achievements of Ayala; plans for promoting California).

⁸ The date was supplied by M. and D.

⁹ M. and D. omit "que se les regalaba."

¹⁰ M. and D. change "El día siguiente once de dicho mes en que celebraba" to "Hoy, que la Iglesia . . . celebra," etc.

¹¹ M. and D. read "conmigo" for "consigo."

¹² At this point in his diary Mourelle devotes over thirteen pages to a description of the natives and the country around Trinity Bay.

¹³ M. and D. add "ó no quisieron."

¹⁴ The MS. reads "quarenta." M. and D. read "cuatro." This seems to be intended and I have adopted it.

¹⁵ M. reads "sudoeste" and D. "sudeste."

¹⁶ M. and D. add "de no apartarse de la tierra y de intento para."

¹⁷ M. and D. read "El dia 31" for "El dia siguiente," which would be the 30th.

¹⁸ The MS. by a slip says the frigate dropped anchor in "July" instead of in "August." I have corrected it. For Mission San Antonio see the *Vida*, chapter XXVII.

¹⁹ For the Ayala-Cañizares exploration of San Francisco Bay see Juan Manuel de Ayala, *Diario de la Navegación . . . desde el Puerto de San Blas . . . al Presidio de Monterey y descubierta del Puerto de San Francisco*, March 19-June 29; Juan Manuel de Ayala, *salida del Abrigo de Monte-Rey . . . para la descubierta del Puerto de San Francisco*, July 26-Sept. 19, 1775; Juan Manuel de Ayala, *Salida del abrigo de Monterey para el Puerto de San Blas*, Oct. 13-Nov. 6, 1775; Juan Manuel de Ayala, *Relación de los sucesos de la Navegación del Paquebot San Carlos*, San Blas, Nov. 6, 1775; Ayala to Bucareli, San Blas, Nov. 9, 1775 (a much fuller account of the exploration than the *Relación* of Nov. 6, 1775). Neither Bancroft nor Engelhardt used the Ayala diaries. See the *Vida*, chapter XLIV.

Correspondence concerning the Ayala expedition includes: Bucareli to Serra, Jan. 2, 1775 (extract quoted in Engelhardt, II, 163); Bucareli to Serra, Dec. 15, 1775 (brought by Ayala; partly reproduced in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 161-163; tells of plans for exploring San Francisco Bay, and to send a colony by Anza); Gálvez to Bucareli, El Pardo, Feb. 28, 1776 (promotion of

Ayala and other Pacific Coast explorers); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 2288. Mexico, May 27, 1776 (promotion of Ayala and Cañizares); Bucareli to Gálvez, Dec. 27, 1776, No. 2636 (reviewing Ayala's explorations of San Francisco Bay).

²⁰ D. reads "nos divisaría," for "nos divisarían."

²¹ M. and D. add "al abordaje á este."

²² M. and D. read "para la razón" instead of "para dar razón."

²³ The *Vida* relates the voyage of the schooner *Sonora* in two pages in chapter XXXVII, where is quoted a letter from Viceroy Bucareli to Serra, Mexico, January 20, 1776.

²⁴ Doyle suggests an omission here, but the Figueroa MS. has the same. See Doyle, *Noticias*, IV, 105.

²⁵ M. and D. omit "en donde hallaron."

²⁶ M. and D. omit "de Monterey."

²⁷ On the first efforts at the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano, see the *Vida*, chapters XXIX, XLIII. Manuscript materials include the following: Bucareli to Rivera, Mexico, May 24, 1775; Rivera to Bucareli, Aug. 22, 1775; Ortega to Anza, Nov. 30, 1775; Neve to Bucareli, Dec. 10, 1775; Fr. Fermín de Lasuén to Fr. Juan Prestamero, San Diego, Jan. 28, 1776 (tells of beginnings at and abandonment of San Juan Capistrano); Bucareli to Serra (undated letter quoted in Palóu's *Vida*, chapter XXXIX); correspondence in *Cal. Arch. St. Pap., Sacramento*, III, 5-11 (cited by Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano Mission*, p. 8). See also Notes 31 and 53.

²⁸ M. and D. change the sense here somewhat.

²⁹ "Lazuén" is supplied by Doyle. This agrees with the context.

³⁰ M. and D. omit "naturales de aquel sitio."

³¹ On the uprising at San Diego, Rivera's doings there, and his relations with the friars, the following correspondence throws light: Francisco de Ortega, Informe, addressed to Anza, Nov. 30, 1775; Fr. Fermín de Lasuén to Fr. Juan Prestamero, San Diego, Jan. 28, 1776 (has abandoned work at San Juan Capistrano and hurried to San Diego); Rivera y Moncada and others, to Fr. Vicente Fuster, San Diego, March 20, 1776 (reviews his work at San Diego and his trouble with the friars); Bucareli to Serra, Mexico, April 3, 1776 (expresses sorrow at the San Diego massacre, plans to rebuild San Diego and to found San Juan Capistrano. An extract is translated in Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, p. 80); Fr. Vicente Fuster to Fr. Francisco Pángua, guardian of San Fernando, San Diego, April 3, 1776 (a long and circumstantial account, telling of his dealings

with Rivera); Ortega and Rivera, investigations at San Diego, April to June, 1776; Rivera to Fuster, San Diego, May 13, 1776 (explaining Rivera's actions); Serra to Rivera, San Diego, Oct. 5, 1776 (reviewing Rivera's conduct at San Diego); Lasuén to Pángua, San Diego, Oct. 7, 1776 (complains of Rivera; wishes to return to Mexico; soldiers refuse aid in founding San Juan Capistrano); Lasuén to Serra, San Gabriel, Oct. 24, 1776 (tells of relations with Rivera); Fr. Francisco Pángua to Manuel de la Vega, Commissary General of the Indies, December 27, 1776 (reviewing events of the year in California, since March); Lasuén, Informe de 1783, MS. Other MS. sources are the diaries of Anza and Font.

³² M. and D. read "dispuesto ya durante este tiempo" for "en cuyos días se dispuso."

³³ M. and D. read "por estas hendiduras y claros hirieron á todos los Indios," in place of "pasaron por allí á todos."

³⁴ For events in this chapter see the *Vida*, chapter XLI.

³⁵ D. reads "seguirá" for "conseguirá."

³⁶ M. and D. read "determinado" for "encargado."

³⁷ For the second Anza expedition there are the following diaries: 1. Juan Bap^{ta}. de Anza, Diario de la Rutta y Operaciones que yo el Infrascrito Theniente coronel . . . practico segunda vez . . . á la California Setemprional. Oct. 23, 1775 to June 1, 1776, ending at Horcasitas. 2. Francisco Garcés, Diario que ha formado . . . en el viage hecho este año de 1775 . . . con . . . Anza, y . . . Font . . . acompañañoles hasta el río Colorado. Oct. 21, 1775 to Sept. 17, 1776. Dated Jan. 3, 1777 at Tubutama. 3. Fr. Pedro Font, Diario que forma . . . del viage que hizo á Monterey y Puerto de Sⁿ. Francisco, Sept. 29, 1775 to June 2, 1776. Dated at Ures, June 23, 1776 (edited by F. J. Teggart, and printed in the Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications*, III, 1-131, Berkeley, 1913). 4. Fr. Pedro Font, Diario que formó . . . en el viage que hizo á Monterey. Sept. 29, 1775 to June 2, 1776. (This is an extension of the foregoing diary, written more at leisure.) I have assembled these diaries and a large body of related correspondence and am preparing them for publication. A summary translation of Font's shorter diary (No. 3) was printed by James M. McDonald in the *First Annual of the Territorial Pioneers of California*, pp. 81-107, San Francisco, 1877.

³⁸ M. and D. read "doscientas" for "doscientas y treinta."

³⁹ M. and D. omit "de San Diego."

⁴⁰ For the general course of events in New California during 1776 the documents include the following: Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Feb. 25, 1776 (he has granted Fages 1500 pesos for expenses while serving at Monterey); Fages to Joseph de Gálvez, March 25, 1776 (enclosing his *continuación y suplemento a las Noticias de Monterey*, consisting of 127 MS. pages; commission to Portolá as governor of Puebla de los Angeles, Aranjuez, June 9, 1776); Arriaga to Bucareli, Aranjuez, June 12, 1776 (approving grant of 1500 pesos to Fages for expenses); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, July 27, 1776, No. 2374 (reports that he has transmitted royal order of April 19 to Rivera y Moncada, to the effect that Rivera shall not move the presidio of Monterey, and that he shall go to Loreto to serve); Fray Vicente Santa María to Fr. Francisco Pángua, San Gabriel, Sept. 29, 1776 (telling of his arrival at Monterey and his subsequent movements); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 2543, Oct. 27, 1776 (has fulfilled orders of July 8 requiring Neve to go to Monterey to serve as governor); Bucareli to Felipe Neve, Dec. 25, 1776 (*Carta Instructiva*, for his administration in California); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 2636, Dec. 27, 1776 (reviews Ayala's exploration of San Francisco Bay, and the founding of San Francisco).

⁴¹ M. and D. read "sudeste" for "sueste." The latter is manifestly correct.

⁴² The Figueroa MS. awkwardly repeats "el Padre Presidente."

⁴³ D. reads "escuchaban" for "estaban mirando."

⁴⁴ M. and D. read "sierra" for "siesta."

⁴⁵ D. omits "y con quantas víveres se pudieron acomodar."

⁴⁶ D. reads "Junio" for "Julio."

⁴⁷ See the *Vida*, chapter XLIV.

⁴⁸ For the founding of San Francisco, besides the diaries of Anza and Font, see: Bucareli to Rivera, Jan. 20, 1776 (permission to delay explorations till Anza arrives); Rivera to Moraga, Feb. 4, 1776 (ordering Moraga to take charge after Anza's departure; Moraga to Rivera, June 5, 1776 (announcing arrival of transports); Neve to the Viceroy, Feb. 25, 1777.

⁴⁹ M. and D. omit "del puerto."

⁵⁰ See the *Vida*, chapter XLV.

⁵¹ M. and D. read "subir" for "seguir."

⁵² See the *Vida*, chapter XLV.

⁵³ On rebuilding San Diego Mission, besides the documents cited in Note 31, see: Bucareli to Serra, March 26, 1776; Bucareli to Serra,

Apr. 3, 1776; Ortega to Rivera, Dec. 3, 1776; reports by Neve, Feb. 2, and Feb. 27, 1777.

On founding San Juan Capistrano, see: Bucareli to Serra, Dec. 25, 1775 (San Juan Capistrano will be erected; also Santa Clara; reviews instructions to Neve); Ortega to Rivera, Dec. 3, 1776; reports of Beltran (Nov. 12, 1776), Ortega (Nov. 15, 1776) and Carrillo. (Nov. 23, 1776). See also references cited in Note 27.

⁵⁴ M. and D. read "fundación" for "reëdificación."

⁵⁵ D. reads "empleaban" for "completaban."

⁵⁶ M. and D. omit "Pero á los pocos días de haverse retirado del sitio de la misión de San Diego al presidio."

⁵⁷ D. reads "Moreno" for "Moraga."

⁵⁸ See the *Vida*, chapter XXXII.

⁵⁹ M. and D. add here "á consecuencia de lo ocurrido," as an introduction to the next paragraph.

⁶⁰ See the *Vida*, chapter XLVI. On the founding of Santa Clara Mission, see Peña, report of Dec. 30, 1777; Murguía and Peña, Informe de Santa Clara, 1777; reports of Neve, Feb. 25 and Sept. 19, 1777.

⁶¹ D. reads "sesenta" for "setenta."

⁶² M. and D. read "vientos" for "vecinos."

⁶³ Correspondence concerning California in 1777 includes the following: Fernando Quiros to the Viceroy, Mexico, Jan. 23, 1777 (reports destination of Arteaga, Mourelle, and Quadra for the year; sends map of San Francisco Bay); Fr. Diego Ximenez Pérez to the Viceroy, Mexico, Jan. 24, 1777 (forwards letters from Garcés); Bucareli to José de Gálvez, Mexico, Jan. 27, 1777, No. 2702 (acknowledges orders for dealing with Cook if he comes to New Spain); induction of Portolá into office, Puebla de los Angeles, Feb. 23, 1777; Neve to the Viceroy, Feb. 25, 1777 (he has visited San Francisco; describes the settlement; orders to Moraga); Serra, March 1, 1777, Nomina of the friars in the eight missions of New California; Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, May 27, 1777, No. 2968 (forwards diary of Garcés's "últimos peregrinaciones" to Moqui; discusses their importance); Consejo de Indias, June 30, 1777 (Acuerdo sobre erección de una Custodia en Sonora y otra en Chihuahua); Bucareli to Gálvez, July 27, 1777, No. 3106 (return of the supply vessels from California; transmits "Noticias de Californias" signed by Peramás on the same day; a general summary of California affairs); Neve, report of Sept. 10, 1777 (telling of the fire at San Luís Obispo, in Novem-

ber, 1776); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, Sept. 26, 1777, No. 3227 (concerning diary of Domínguez and Escalante); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 3407, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1777 (has sent Portolá his commission as colonel); José Joaquín Moraga, Informe de 1777 (describes forces at San Francisco).

⁶⁴ Neve to Bucareli, June 4, 1777 (has made no formal distribution of lands except to one soldier); Neve to Bucareli, April 15, 1777 (tells of recruiting settlers); Moraga, list of settlers in San Francisco district, Dec., 1777; Neve to Bucareli, April 15, 1778; Neve to Croix, April 15, 1778 (English translation in Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco*, addenda 8); Bucareli to Neve, Mexico, July 22, 1778; Croix to Neve, July 19, 1779 (Hall, *History of San José*, 14-19).

⁶⁵ Routine correspondence of 1778 includes: Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 3741, Mexico, April 26, 1778 (acknowledges approval of his reply to Croix concerning representations of Neve and Serra); Neve to Croix, Aug. 10, 1778; a general report on California, especially on affairs at San José; oppositon of the friars (included in an expediente called Perjuicios que causan los ideas de los ministros de las misiones de California, 1778-1782); Serra, Nomina of the friars of the eight California missions, Monterey, Aug. 22, 1778; Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 4109, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1778 (forwards three letters from Serra, reporting the progress of the missions); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 4110 (reports the return of the *Santiago*; news from California; measures taken for that province); Bucareli to Gálvez, No. 4112 (preparations were made in California to supply the Manila galleon but it did not stop there); Estado of the income and expenses for the California missions, signed by Cobarrubias and Parrilla, Mexico, Dec. 31, 1778; Bucareli to Gálvez, Feb. 24, 1779, No. 4321 (transmitting the foregoing document).

A controversy between Neve and Palóu is set forth in Neve to Palóu, Monterey, Oct. 7, 1778; Murguía and Palóu to Neve, "Sobre raciones," San Francisco, Oct. 12, 1778; Neve to Palóu, Nov. 5, 1778; Neve to Palóu, Monterey, Dec. 6, 1778.

⁶⁶ Correspondence concerning California in 1779 includes: Fermín de Lasuén to Phelipe de Neve, San Diego, Jan. 25, 1779 (protests that the neophytes of San Diego are not ready to choose their own pueblo officers); Gálvez to Teodoro de Croix, El Pardo, March 6, 1779 (the king, seeing the good state of the missions, wishes them to be given first consideration); Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui to Serra, San Juan Capistrano, March 15, 1779 (complains of Neve, and of Ayala's conduct at San Francisco, and reports desertions); Croix to

Rivera y Moncada, Arispe, Dec. 27, 1779 (he has decided to occupy the Santa Bárbara channel and to found Pueblo de los Angeles; encloses the "Instrucción" which Rivera is to observe in recruiting families for this purpose).

⁶⁷ M. and D read "tres" where the Figueroa MS. has "dos."

⁶⁸ For the Arteaga voyage of 1779 there are diaries kept on the *Princesa* (Feb. 11 to Nov. 25) by Ignacio de Arteaga, Juan Pantoja de Arriaga, Joseph Camacho, and Fernando Bernardo de Quiros y Miranda; and on the *Favorita* (Feb. 11 to Nov. 21) by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, Francisco Antonio Mourelle, José de Cañizares, and Juan Bautista de Aguirre. Father Riobó went as chaplain of the expedition and kept a diary. In 1918 it was published in English by Rev. Walter Thornton from the original MS. in the library of the University of Santa Clara ("An account of the voyage made by Father Riobó, as chaplain of His Majesty's frigates *La Princesa* and *La Favorita*," etc., *Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1918, pp. 222-229. It was previously printed in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 12, 1918). A summary of the Arteaga voyage is contained in "Tercera exploración de la costa septentrional de Californias," 1779. Sailing directions for the voyage are contained in "Derrota que se formó para las embarcaciones destinadas a la exploración de la Costa Septentrional de California," Jan. 19, 1779.

Related correspondence includes: Estado showing the equipment of the *Favorita* when it sailed, San Blas, Feb. 10, 1779; Bucareli to José de Gálvez, Mexico, Feb. 24, 1779, No. 111 (reports the sailing of the *Princesa* and *Favorita* from San Blas; Fathers Díaz and Nosedal were to serve as chaplains, but Nosedal died); same to same, same date, No. 4261 (the same as No. 111); Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, Feb. 24, 1779, No. 4260 (reports arrival of the vessels that were to carry supplies to California); Fernando de Quiros to Manuel de Flores, Tepic, Dec. 5, 1779 (giving hydrographic notices of the west coast of North America); Mayorga to José de Gálvez, Mexico, Dec. 27, 1779, No. 187 (reports return of the *Princesa* and the *Favorita*, Nov. 21 and Nov. 25, and principal events of the voyage); Mayorga to Gálvez, Mexico, Dec. 27, 1779, Nos. 188 and 189 (concerning promotion of the officials of the expedition; recommends Bodega for knighthood in the Order of Santiago); Mayorga to José de Gálvez, No. 631, Mexico, Sept. 7, 1780 (encloses various rewards and premiums for the members of the Arteaga expeditions; with letters of the officers themselves); Francisco Antonio Mourelle, diary of his expedition in the *Princesa* from Manila to San Blas, 1780-1781; Mayorga to Gálvez, No. 1744, Mexico, July 31,

1782 (reports the whereabouts of the five Indian children brought from the North Pacific by Arteaga); expediente concerning Juan Francisco, a boy brought from the North Pacific by Bodega y Quadra (April 3, 1783–Sept. 8, 1792).

⁶⁹ D. reads “mantenerlo” for “mapearlo.”

⁷⁰ M. and D. omit “solemne.”

⁷¹ M. and D. omit “del barco, para socorrer estos nuevos establecimientos y de consiguiente ser mas tarde la llegada, pues no fue la salida.”

⁷² The Figueroa MS. reads “setenta.” M. and D. read “sesenta,” which is evidently correct.

⁷³ Manuscript materials for the founding of the Yuma missions and for the uprising there in 1781 are numerous. An important file of original documents is contained in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-19, in four carpetas. Carpeta 1, certificate of baptism of the Yuma chief Salvador Palma, Mexico, Sept. 13, 1777; Carpeta 2, letters of Fathers Garcés and Díaz and of Alférez Islas, concerning the happy beginnings of the Yuma settlements, 1780; carpeta 3, expediente compiled during the investigation of the massacre, 1781; carpeta, 4, results of measures adopted in the junta of Sept. 9, 1781, and new resolutions adopted by the junta of Nov. 5, 1781.

California affairs during 1780-1782 are illuminated by the following manuscript materials: Rafael Verger, guardian of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, January 5, 1780 (requesting: the continuation of double rations for the missions in California; permission for the friars to return to the College without license by the governor; and ornaments for missions San Diego and San Juan Capistrano); Mayorga to Verger, Mexico, March 29, 1780 (concerning the foregoing requests); Teodoro de Croix to Martín de Mayorga, Arispe, Sept. 27, 1781 (reporting measures taken regarding rations for the missions; touches the question of double rations); Fr. Fermín de Lasuén to Fr. Francisco Pángua, guardian, San Diego, July 8, 1782 (criticises the proposed plan for custodias; opposes Neve's “new idea” of only one friar at each mission; asks permission to leave California); “Estado de los gastos” (a table showing the cost to the Real Hacienda of the five California presidios, ca. 1782); Serra to Croix, Santa Bárbara, April 26, 1782 (concerning the question of changing assignment of missionaries); same to same, Santa Bárbara, April 28, 1782 (concerning the annual inventories of missions requested by Neve); Fr. Pablo Mugártegui to Fr. Francisco de Pángua,

San Juan Capistrano, Sept. 16, 1782 (Fages has been made governor of California; the question of stock for San Buenaventura); the Contador General to the Consejo de Indias, "Informe" concerning the question of two friars at each mission, Madrid, Dec. 7, 1782; Pedro Fages, San Vicente, October 29, 1783 (sends "memorias" of supplies needed for three presidios for the year 1783). The guardian of the College of San Fernando to Serra, Mexico, Jan. 8, 1783 (telling of the plan for custodias: "We work here with all our might to overthrow these projects in the beginning, realizing that to attempt them will cause great mischief" (*Arch. Sta. Bárbara*, MS. XII, 156-158, cited by Bancroft, *California*, I, 421); Fr. Francisco Paláu and Fr. Benito Cambón to Pedro Fages, San Francisco, Jan. 8, 1783.

⁷⁴ M. and D. add "dos."

⁷⁵ M. and D. omit "Don Pedro."

⁷⁶ An extensive file of correspondence concerning the occupation of the Channel of Santa Bárbara and the founding of Los Angeles is the following: "Establecimiento de un presidio y tres misiones en el canal de Santa Bárbara," *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 103-4-13 (about 100 manuscript pages). Serra's certificate of the founding of Santa Bárbara Presidio, April 21, 1782, translated into English, is printed in Juan Caballería, *History of the City of Santa Barbara*, Santa Barbara, 1892.

⁷⁷ M. and D. omit "que eran soldados voluntarios y de cuera."

⁷⁸ M. and D. omit "el día — de."

⁷⁹ M. and D. add "de México."

⁸⁰ D. reads "Obispo" for "Obispado."

⁸¹ M. and D. omit "Fray — de la." I have supplied Vega's baptismal name.

⁸² M. and D. add "nueve."

Paláu's career from the time when he ceased writing the *Noticias* to his death can be traced in the following correspondence: Paláu to Gálvez, San Francisco, August 15, 1783, requesting permission to leave California (translated from the original in the Buckingham Smith Collection, and printed in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV, New York, March, 1860, pp. 67-69); Paláu, certificate of the death and burial of Father Serra, Sept. 5, 1784 (translated from the MS. *Libro de Entierros* at Mission San Carlos Borromeo and published in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 11, May, 1860); Paláu to Gálvez, Mission San Carlos, Sept. 6, 1784 (recounting Serra's death); Paláu to Fray Juan Sancho, guardian

of San Fernando, Mission San Carlos, Sept. 7, 1784; Palóu to Fray Juan Sancho, San Carlos, Sept. 13, 1784; Palóu to Sancho, Mission San Francisco, Nov. 9, 1784; Gálvez (the Marqués de Sonora) to Palóu, Aranjuez, Feb. 6, 1785; commission to Lasuén as president, Feb. 6, 1785; Sancho to Lasuén, Feb. 7, 1785, telling of Lasuén's election; Fr. Mugártegui to Pedro Fages, March 8, 1785 (writes that Palóu declined presidency); Sancho to Lasuén, April 12, 1785; Fages to Palóu, May 29, 1785 (urges Palóu to accept presidency); Fages to the Viceroy, Sept. 26, 1785, formal charges against the friars (cited by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 416); Fages to Palóu, Oct. 3, 1785, wishing him a happy journey; Lasuén to the friars, Oct. 10, 1785; Fages to Cambón, Dec. 7, 1785, complaining of Palóu's cold manner (cited by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 407-408); Sancho to Lasuén, Mexico, April 1, 1786; Gálvez to Palóu, July 1, 1786 (pleased with reports from California); Palóu to Lasuén, Mexico, July 4, 1786, reporting his election to guardianship; Palóu to Lasuén, Mexico, July 12, 1786; Palóu to Lasuén, August 16, 1786; Palóu, Informe sobre Quejas del Gobernador, Mexico, 1786; Fages to Palóu, San Gabriel, Jan. 2, 1787; Palóu to Fages, Jan. 8, 1787; Expediente de la Real Audiencia, Jan. 12, 1787 (*Santa Bárbara Archives*); Palóu to Trujillo, Mexico, Jan. 28, 1787; the audiencia to Palóu, Mexico, March 2, 1787; same to same, Mexico, May 7, 1787; Palóu to Viceroy Peralta, Mexico, May 18, 1787; Peralta to Palóu, Mexico, May 21, 1787; Lasuén, Informe y Satisfacción, Oct. 25, 1787; Fray Benito Cambón to Palóu, San Francisco, Feb. 29, 1788; Fray Antonio Barbastro to Palóu, Aconchi, Sonora, June 28, 1788; the Commissary General de Indias to Palóu, Madrid, Oct. 29, 1788. For date of Palóu's death see Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 452.

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